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# THE TOWN OF ROXBURY,

ITS Massachusetts

## MEMORABLE PERSONS AND PLACES

ITS

## HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES, WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS OF ITS OLD LANDMARKS AND NOTED PERSONAGES

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*By FRANCIS S. DRAKE*

BOSTON
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# REGISTRY DEPARTMENT

OF THE

# CITY OF BOSTON

## RECORDS RELATING TO THE EARLY HISTORY OF BOSTON

(*Formerly called Record Commissioners' Reports*)

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This volume, which is the thirty-fourth in the series formerly issued under the direction of the Record Commissioners, is reprinted from the original plates purchased from the estate of the late Francis S. Drake, and issued as one of the volumes relating to the early history of Boston.

EDWARD W. McGLENEN,
*City Registrar.*

Old Court House, Boston.

# PREFACE.

In the following pages the author's aim has been, while going over the old roads and pointing out their memorable localities, to present whatever of historical interest the annals of the town afford, and also to delineate the manners, customs, mode of life, and other characteristics of the men and women who lived and wrought here in former days, together with such visible memorials of them, their homes, their monuments, etc., as have escaped the ravages of time. In the performance of this task, every available source of information known to him has been drawn upon, and from aged persons, familiar with Roxbury as it was, much has been gleaned that would otherwise have been buried in oblivion.

Though without a printing-press, Roxbury has led the van of independent thought, three of her most eminent citizens, by their protests against superstition, and their advocacy of political or religious reforms, having had their writings condemned to the flames by the colonial authorities. She is the mother of towns, as many as fifteen prosperous New England communities, including the flourishing cities of Springfield and Worcester, having been founded or largely settled by her citizens. She can fairly claim to be the banner town of the Revolutionary war, furnishing to it three companies of minute-men at Lexington, one of which was the first that was raised for the defence of American liberty, and having also given birth to three of the generals of the Revolutionary army. She played a prominent part in the siege of Boston, and was greatly injured both by friend and foe. No less than ten of the governors of Massachusetts have been natives or residents of Roxbury. But while this is a record of which she may be justly proud, it is yet

little to her credit that one must look elsewhere than within her confines, for adequate mementos of John Eliot and Joseph Warren. In the nomenclature of her streets she has done well to remember her founder and principal citizens, but she owes it to herself to perpetuate in the same manner the no less deserving names of Denison, Parke, Bowles, Brewer, Craft, Lamb, Johnson, Bell, Morrill, Bugby, Payson, Graves, and Newell.

Roxbury was appropriately so named from its most prominent natural characteristic; and no one who venerates its founders, or who cherishes a proper regard for the preservation of its historical or ancestral memories, should ever consent to substitute for it a name no more applicable to it than to many other localities now included within the city limits. To do so is no less a blunder in taste than in fact. The great city of London, while gradually absorbing adjoining localities, religiously preserves their ancient names. Are ours less dear to us? Let us, then, while a single "rock" remains above its surface, cling to the good old name of ROXBURY, "scotched, not killed," by the temporary substitution for it of the unacceptable misnomer of "Boston Highlands."

To Augustus Parker and Edward Sumner the author's especial acknowledgments are due for valuable aid in obtaining materials for his work. He is also under obligations to P. B. Smith, Jr., for kindly placing at his disposal his minutes of Roxbury conveyances, which have been of great assistance to him. He also acknowledges with pleasure the courtesies of the city clerk of Boston, Samuel F. McCleary, and his assistant, J. T. Priest. His thanks are likewise due to Hon. John J. Clarke, Joseph W. Tucker, Moses Williams, the late Miss Catherine P. Curtis, George A. Simmons, Mrs. H. G. R. Dearborn, H. A. S. Dudley, George Mirick, Aaron D. Weld, Mrs. Edwin Lemist, Mrs. Paul Willard, W. H. Spooner, John D. Colburn, William F. Crafts, Guy Carleton, Bradford Kingman, and to all others who have aided him with information or materials for the prosecution of his work.

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"Out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books and the like, we doe save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time." — *Bacon.*

"I pray you let us satisfy our eyes
With the memorials and the things of fame
That do renown this city."

*Shakespeare.*

"Les monuments sont les crampons qui unissent une génération à une autre, conservez ce qu'ont vu vos pères."

# CHAPTER I.

## INTRODUCTORY.

Causes of the Puritan Emigration. — Indian Natives. — Settlement of Massachusetts Bay. — Dudley's Account. — Roxbury Colonists. — Nazing, England. — Pynchon. — Annals. — Philip's War. — Revolution of 1680. — Stamp Act. — Ante-Revolutionary Action of the Town. — Minute-men. — Lexington. — Siege of Boston. — Revolutionary Annals. — Shays's Insurrection.

READER, before asking you to accompany me in a retrospective stroll through the ancient town of Roxbury, noting its old landmarks, treading its old ways, reconstructing its old dwellings, and making the acquaintance of its men and women of mark in by-gone days, not forgetting an occasional glance at the quaint and curious fashions and customs of our ancestors, — before doing this, we will, if it please you, take a brief survey of some passages in its early history. Many of the chief events in its annals will be noticed in describing those portions of the town with which they are especially connected. This breathing space preparatory to our journey will be no disadvantage to us, for, as Mrs. Ramsbotham says, "We are to have a great deal of walking on our hands."

Rightly to estimate the present, we must invoke the past, of which we ourselves are the product, and its study cannot fail to teach us the importance of perpetuating those elements of true greatness in New England character bequeathed to us by our Puritan ancestry, and in which their descendants take a justifiable pride. The old church, the old schoolhouse, the old burial-place, the old homestead, even

> "The old oaken bucket that hangs by the well,"

all these have their lesson to impart, and recall memories of the past, which, though not always pleasurable, are yet not devoid of interest, and have a charm for us even in their sadness.

The settlement of New England was almost wholly due to the bitter antagonism between the Protestant dissenters and the Church of England. These dissenters were of two kinds: the Pilgrims, who were Separatists, and who, after some years of exile in Holland, landed at Plymouth; and the Puritans, who, under Winthrop and others, settled the towns upon Massachusetts Bay. The latter taught the necessity of a more complete and personal regeneration, desiring a reform in the church, and not a schism: the former denounced the establishment as an idolatrous institution, false to Christianity and to truth. Purity of religion and civil liberty were the common objects of both. These discontented sectaries were found in every rank, but they were strongest among the mercantile classes in the towns and among the small proprietors in the country, and became so numerous that early in the reign of Elizabeth they began to return a majority of the House of Commons.

Under the ecclesiastical administration of Archbishop Laud, every corner of the realm was subjected to a constant and minute inspection. Every little congregation of dissenters was tracked out and broken up. Even the devotions of private families could not escape the vigilance of his spies, and many thousands of upright and industrious men, among them nearly eighty clergymen, were driven by persecution to emigrate to New England. One third of the white population of the United States are the descendants of these men. A large number of them were educated, and to their influence it is owing that schools were so early established, and that so much attention was paid to instruction in every New England community. Said one of their number, in the quaint language of those days, "God sifted three kingdoms that he might send over choice grain into the wilderness."

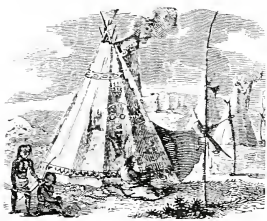
The Puritan never disowned the name given him in derision by those to whom his sobriety of speech and visage, his opposition to long hair and other frivolities of dress and manners, appeared hypocritical and absurd. His witty accusers indeed said that his hostility to cruel and barbarous sports, such as bear-baiting, arose not from sympathy with the bear, but because of the enjoyment it afforded the spectators.

"To the Puritans," says an eminent English writer, "we owe the whole freedom of our constitution." They were the great conservators of English liberty. To them the present political freedom of England and the United States is directly traceable. If the founders of great states are entitled to the first rank among men, posterity must accord especial prominence to the Puritan planters of New England. The verdict of impartial history must, despite all their faults and shortcomings, pronounce them the most remarkable body of men that perhaps the world has ever produced.

INDIAN SACHEM.

Just prior to its settlement, a pestilence had swept away a large portion of the Indian population of Massachusetts Bay, thus clearing the way for the emigrants, and enabling them to establish themselves without opposition, — a circumstance the pious Puritan could hardly fail to regard as providential. No distinct traces of aboriginal occupation have ever been observed in Roxbury,

not even an Indian name remaining to mark the locality of mountain, streamlet, or other natural feature of the landscape. The chief sachem of the territory, including Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester, was Chickatabut, who lived on the Neponset River, near the Massachusetts Fields, in what is now Quincy. This sagamore, who was the greatest in the country, had, in 1631, only fifty or sixty subjects, and many of these, with the sachem himself, died of small-pox in 1633. Of him Thomas Dudley wrote, "This man least favoreth the English of any sagamore we are acquainted with, by reason of the old quarrel between him and those of Plymouth, where he lost seven of his best men, yet he lodged one night the last winter at my house in friendly manner." Cutshamokin, who is said to have been a brother of Chickatabut, and who had been a humble hanger-on of the English from their first coming, succeeded for a time to the titular honor of sachem of Massachusetts, and to the right of signing deeds and conveyances of lands once occupied by the tribe. Josiah, the son of Chickatabut, a word signifying in English "a house on fire," was summarily extinguished by the Mohawks, against whom, contrary to the advice of the apostle Eliot and other English friends, he led, in 1669, six hundred warriors. Gookin says, "The chiefest general in this expedition was the principal sachem of Massachusetts, named Josiah, alias Chickatabut, a wise and stout man, of middle age, but a very vicious person. He had considerable



INDIAN WIGWAM.

knowledge in the Christian religion, and, some time, when he was younger, seemed to profess it; for he was bred up by his uncle, Kuchamakin, who was the first sachem and his people to whom Mr. Eliot preached." His son, Charles Josiah (Wampatuck), the last of the race, in 1686 deeded the native right to the territory of Roxbury to its agents, Joseph Dudley and William Stoughton, for £10.

From the period of Gosnold's visit in 1602 to the year 1630, the Massachusetts coast had been visited by Pring, Weymouth, Capt. John Smith, Myles Standish, and others; settlements had been made at Plymouth, Salem, and elsewhere, and individuals had "sat down" either as fishermen or Indian traders at different points, — Blackstone, at Shawmut, now Boston; Walford, at Mishawam, now Charlestown; Maverick, at Noddle's Island, now East Boston; and David Thompson, at Thompson's Island. As no mention is made of any one being previously located at Roxbury, there can be little doubt that it was originally settled by some of Winthrop's company as early as the first week in July, 1630; John, the son of Griffin Craft, according to the first entry on the Town Book, having been born here on July 10th of that year.

In the first compartment of the corridor leading to the English House of Lords, at Westminster, is a painting designed to represent the departure of the Pilgrims from Delft Haven. Governor Bradford's vivid portraiture of this scene faithfully represents many other similar experiences of our emigrant ancestors at parting with their families and friends and quitting forever the land of their birth. He says: —

"The next day the wind being faire, they wente aborde and their frendes, where truly dolfull was y^e^ sight of that sade and mournfull parting; to see what sighs and sobbs and praiers did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye and pithy speeches peirst each harte, that sundry of y^e^ Dutch strangers that stood on the Key as spectators could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable

and sweet was it to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love. But the tide (which stays for no man) calyng them away were thus loathe to depart, their reverend pastor falling down on his Knees (and they all with him) with watrie cheecks commended them with most fervent praiers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutuall imbraces and many tears they tooke their leaves one of another which proved to be the last leave to many of them."

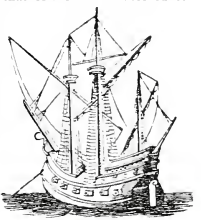
The story of the settlement of Massachusetts Bay is told with touching simplicity in Thomas Dudley's letter to the Countess of Lincoln, dated Boston, March 12, 1630–1. This, which is the most interesting document in our early annals, was composed under difficulties, and, as he himself says, "shortly, after my usual manner, and rudely, having yet no table nor other room to write in than by the fireside upon my knee, in this sharp winter, to which my family must have leave to resort though they break good manners, and make me many times forget what I would say, and say what I would not."

"Touching the plantation which we here have begun, it fell out thus: About the year 1627, some friends being together in Lincolnshire, fell into discourse about New England and the planting of the gospel there, and after some deliberation we imparted our reasons by letters and messages to some in London and the west country, where it was likewise deliberately thought upon, and at length, with often negotiation so ripened that, in 1628, we procured a patent from his Majesty for our planting between the Massachusetts Bay and Charles River on the south, and the river of Merrimack on the north, and three miles on either side of those rivers and bay; as also for the government of those who did or should inhabit within that compass. And the same year we sent Mr. John Endecott, and some with him, to begin a plantation and to strengthen such as he should find there which we sent thither from Dorchester and some places adjoining, from whom, the same year, receiving hopeful news, the next year, 1629, we sent divers ships over, with about three hundred people, and some cows, goats, and horses, many of which arrived safely.

"These, by their too large commendations of the country and

the commodities thereof, invited us so strongly to go on, that Mr. Winthrop, of Suffolk (who was well known in his own country, and well approved here for his piety, liberality, wisdom, and gravity), coming in to us, we came to such resolution that in April, 1630, we set sail from old England with four good ships, and in May following, eight more followed; two having gone before in February and March, and two more following in June and August, besides another set out by a private merchant.

"These seventeen ships arrived all safe in New England for the increase of the plantation here this year, 1630, but made a long, a troublesome, and costly voyage, being all wind-bound long in England, and hindered with contrary winds after they set sail, and so scattered with mists and tempests that few of them arrived together. Our four ships, which set out in April, arrived here in June and July, where we found the colony in a sad and unexpected condition, above eighty of them being dead the winter before, and many of those alive being weak and sick; all the corn and bread amongst them all hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight, insomuch that the remainder of one hundred and eighty servants we had the two years before sent over, coming to us for victuals to sustain them, we found ourselves wholly unable to feed them, whereupon necessity enforced us to our extreme loss to give them all liberty who had cost us about sixteen or twenty pounds a person, furnishing and sending over.



SHIP OF THE PILGRIMS.

"But, bearing these things as we might, we began to consult of the place of our sitting down, for Salem, where we landed, pleased us not, and to that purpose some were sent to the Bay to search up the rivers for a convenient place, who, upon their return, reported to have found a good place upon Mistick; but some other of us found a place liked us better, three leagues up Charles River, and thereupon we shipped our goods into other vessels, and with much cost and labor brought them, in July, to Charlestown; but there receiving advertisements by some of the late arrived ships from London and Amsterdam of some French preparations against us

(many of our people brought with us being sick of fevers and the scurvy, and we thereby unable to carry up our ordnance and baggage so far), we were forced to change counsel, and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly; some at Charlestown, some at Boston, some of us upon Mistick, which we named Meadford, some of us westward on Charles River, four miles from Charlestown, which place we named Watertown; others of us two miles from Boston, in a place we named Rocksbury; others upon the river of Saugus, between Salem and Charlestown, and the western men four miles south of Boston, at a place we named Dorchester.

"This dispersion troubled some of us, but help it we could not, wanting ability to remove to any place fit to build a town upon, and the time too short to deliberate any longer lest the winter should surprise us before we had builded our houses. The best counsel we could find out was, to build a fort to retire to in some convenient place, if any enemy pressed us thereunto, after we should have fortified ourselves against the injuries of wet and cold. So ceasing to consult further at that time, they who had health to labor fell to building, wherein many were interrupted with sickness, and many died weekly, yea, almost daily, among whom were Mrs. Pynchon, Mrs. Coddington, Mrs. Phillips, and Mrs. Alcock, a sister of Mr. (Rev. Thomas) Hooker's. Insomuch that the ships being now upon their return, there was, as I take it, not much less than one hundred which returned back again, and glad were we so to be rid of them. The ships being gone, victuals wasting, and mortality increasing, we held divers fasts in our several congregations. And of the people who came over with us from the time of their setting sail from England in April, 1630, until December following, there died two hundred at the least, so low hath the Lord brought us.

"Well, yet they who survived were not discouraged, but bearing God's corrections with humility, and trusting in his mercies, and considering how after a lower ebb he had raised up our neighbors at Plymouth, we began again in December to consult about a fit place to build a town upon, leaving all thoughts of a fort because upon any invasion we were necessarily to lose our houses when we should retire thereinto: so after divers meetings at Boston, Roxbury, and Watertown, on December 28th we grew to the resolution to bind all the assistants to build houses at a place a mile east from Watertown, near Charles River, the next spring, and to winter there the next year; that so by our examples and by removing the ordnance and munitions thither, all who were able might be drawn

thither, and such as shall come to us hereafter to their advantage be compelled so to do, and so, if God would, a fortified town might there grow up, the place fitting reasonably well thereto.

"Half of our cows, and almost all our mares and goats, died at sea in their passage hither, which, together with the loss of our six months' building, occasioned by our intended removal to a town to be fortified, weakened our estates, especially the estates of the undertakers, who were £3,000 to £4,000, engaged in the joint stock which was now not above so many hundreds. . . .

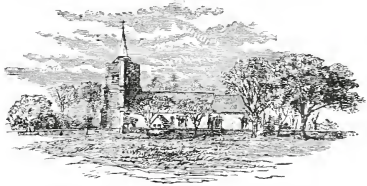
"If any come hither to plant for worldly ends that can live well at home, he commits an error of which he will soon repent him; but if for spiritual, and no particular obstacle hinder his removal, he may find here what may well content him, viz., materials to build, fewel to burn, ground to plant, seas and rivers to fish in, a pure air to breathe in, good water to drink till wine or beer can be made. . . . If there be any endued with grace and furnished with means to feed themselves and theirs for eighteen months, and to build and plant, let them come into our Macedonia and help us.

"Upon the 25th of this March, one of Watertown having lost a calf, and about ten of the clock at night hearing the howling of some wolves not far off, raised many of his neighbors out of their beds, that by discharging their muskets near about the place where he heard the wolves, he might so put them to flight and save his calf. The wind carrying the report of the muskets to Rocksbury, three miles off, at such a time, the inhabitants there took an alarm, beat up their drum, armed themselves, and sent in post to us at Boston to raise us also. So in the morning, the calf being found safe, the wolves affrighted, and our danger past, we went merrily to breakfast."

The Roxbury colonists were mostly from London and its vicinity, a few being from the West of England. They were people of substance, many of them farmers, none being "of the poorer sort." They struck root in the soil immediately, and were enterprising, industrious, and frugal. It is the testimony of an eye-witness, that "one might dwell there from year to year and not see a drunkard, hear an oath, or meet a beggar." Among them are names still borne in Roxbury by their descendants, such as Curtis, Crafts, Dudley, Griggs, Heath, Payson, Parker, Seaver, Weld, and Williams. Out-

side of Boston, no New England town can show such a roll of distinguished names as have illustrated her annals, unless Cambridge be an exception.

Nazing, a rural village in Essex County, England, the home of many of the fathers of Roxbury, around which clustered the affections and remembrances of their youth, comprises the northwest corner of Waltham Half-hundred. It is on the river Lee, and is twenty miles east from London. Its gable-fronted cottages, with low, thatched roofs and overhanging eaves, show that this quiet little village has undergone slight changes during the past three hundred years. The manor was given by Harold II to Waltham Abbey.



NAZING PARISH CHURCH.

Its old parish church may be regarded as the parent of the First Church of Roxbury. It is situated on the side of a hill overlooking parts of Hertfordshire and Middlesex, bounded on the west by the river Lee, and on the east and south by Waltham Abbey and Epping. Its parish records contain the familiar names of Eliot, Ruggles, Curtis, Heath, Payson, Peacock, Graves, and others, who, between the years 1631 and 1640, left their beloved homes and, for conscience' sake, braved the dangers of a long ocean voyage in the frail vessels of that period that they might aid in establishing a Christian commonwealth in the wilderness. The accompanying view

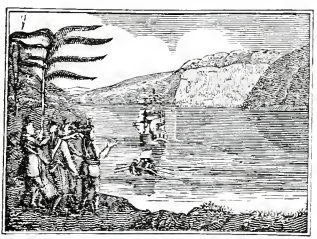
of the church represents the building as it appeared when the emigrant fathers worshipped within its old gray walls two centuries and a half ago.

Under the lead of Pynchon, the first-comers to Roxbury settled chiefly in the easterly part of the town, next to Boston. From the town street, now called Roxbury Street, they gradually extended themselves in various directions towards the neighboring towns, notwithstanding the enactment of 1635, designed as a protection against the Indians, that no person should live beyond half a mile from the meeting-house. Jamaica Plain and West Roxbury were settled later. The first mention of the town occurs in the records of the third Court of Assistants, held Sept. 28, 1630, as one of the plantations on which a part of the general tax of £50 was levied, and that day has therefore been fixed upon as the official date of its settlement. Roxbury was the sixth town incorporated in Massachusetts.

In the year 1631 the ship "Lyon," William Pierce, master, left the shores of England with the first batch of Nazing pilgrims on board. Eliot, the apostle, was there, with William Curtis and Sarah, his wife, Eliot's sister and their children, in company with the wife of Governor Winthrop. They were ten weeks on the water. In the summer of 1632 she once more left the Thames for Boston, having among her passengers William Heath, with his wife and children, and several other Nazing worthies. Isaac, his elder brother, did not quit Nazing until 1635. Early in 1633, John Graves, with his wife and five children, left their home for the shores of New England, and in 1635 they were followed by a large number of Nazing Christians who came over in the "Hopewell." Others came later, but emigration from Old to New England ceased about 1640, when the popular cause there began to look hopeful.

The first year was one of great toil and privation. Fuel was scarce, and the cold intense. Few settlers arrived in the

following year, the undertaking was so hazardous, and the accounts brought by the large number of returning emigrants were so discouraging. In 1632 many came, and early in 1635 a great movement in England among the friends of religious liberty sent three thousand persons to New England. After 1633, a season of abundance ensued, and emigrants steadily poured in. One of the earlier colonists wrote that "bread was so very scarce that sometimes I thought the very crumbs of my father's table would be sweet unto me, and when I could have meal and water and salt boiled together, it was



ARRIVAL OF THE "WILLIAM AND FRANCIS."

so good who could wish better?" "It would have been a strange thing," said another, "to see a piece of roast beef or mutton or veal."

William Pynchon, "a gentleman of learning and religion," and one of the assistants or magistrates who came over with Winthrop, was, says Prince, the annalist, "the principal founder of the town of Rocksbury, and the first member who joins in forming the Congregational church there." In 1636 he led a party from Roxbury, among whom were Henry Smith, his son-in-law, and Jehu Burr, to the Connecticut,

and began upon its banks the settlement of Agawam, which he named Springfield, after the town in England, near Chelmsford in Essex, where he formerly resided. He was many years a magistrate, and was largely concerned in the beaver trade till, as we are told, "the merchants increased so many that it became little worth, by reason of their outbuying one another, which caused them to live on husbandry."

William Pynchon

This "gentleman of learning and religion" had the temerity to dissent from the dissenters, and the publication, in 1650, of his "Meritorious Price of Our Redemption," in opposition to the then prevalent Calvinistic view of the atonement, caused his deposition from the magistracy, and the burning of his book in the market-place of Boston, by order of the Court, who cited him before them and placed him under heavy bonds. The scene of this *auto da fé* was the head of State Street, where the Old State House stands. In this book Pynchon attempted to prove that "Christ suffered not for us the unutterable torments of God's wrath, commonly called 'Hell's torments.'" Pynchon's heresy has become modern orthodoxy. The General Court condemned his book as false, heretical, and erroneous, ordered Rev. John Norton to answer it, and declared its purpose "to proceed with its author according to his demerits, unless he retract the same,

and give full satisfaction both here and by some second writing, to be printed and dispersed in England."

At the next Court, held in May, 1651, Pynchon appeared and explained or modified the obnoxious opinions. Again he appeared before them, says the record, "in a hopeful way to give good satisfaction," and the judgment of the Court was deferred till the next session in May, 1652. Before that time, Pynchon, disgusted with the persecuting and intolerant spirit of those in authority, returned to England, where he published a new edition of his book, with additions, in 1655, and died there in October, 1661, at the age of seventy-two. A street in Roxbury perpetuates the name of its principal founder. No other memorial of him exists here save Eliot's notice of him in the Records of the First Parish.

Roxbury may fairly claim pre-eminence in literature of the combustible kind, three of its eminent citizens having had their books burned or condemned to the flames, — Pynchon, Robert Calef, who opposed the witchcraft delusion, and the apostle Eliot. The latter, indeed, avoided the honor of martyrdom by proxy, by a seasonable recautation. Toleration was not one of the virtues of our Puritan ancestors; it was then a new doctrine, heralded by Roger Williams, and was yet to undergo a long probation before it could be recognized even in theory. An *Index Expurgatorius* of the orthodox fathers of New England would be an interesting addition to our bibliographical literature.

From various sources, especially from the diaries of the apostle Eliot and Danforth, his colleague, some incidents of general or local interest have been gleaned.

1633, Nov. "A great mortality amongst the Indians by the Small Pox, whereof Chickatabut, Sachem of Neponset dyed."

1636. The Roxbury people worked on the fortification at Cornhill.

1636, Oct. 7. The General Court met at Roxbury, having adjourned from Cambridge on account of the small-pox.

1636–7. The Pequot War.

1640. Great scarcity of money. The General Court order that corn pass in payment for new debts.

1643. The five New England colonies confederate for mutual defence.

1645, Dec. "The first week in the 10th month. This was the most mortal week that ever Roxbury saw, to have five dy in one week and many more lay sick about town."

1646. "This year, about the end of the 5th month, upon a suddaine, innumerable armys of caterpillars filled the country, devouring the grasse, oats, corn, wheat and barley. They would crosse highways by thousands. Much prayer was made to God about it and fasting in divers places, and the Lord heard and on a suddaine took them all away in all parts of the country, to the wouderment of all men. It was the Lord for it was done suddainely." Danforth says, "they marched thorow our fields like armed men, and spoyled much corn."

1646-7. "This winter was one of the mildest that ever we had, no snow all winter long, nor sharp weather, but they had long floods at Connecticut which was much spoyle to y^r corne in the meadows. We never had a bad day to goe preach to the Indians all this winter praised be the Lord."

1647. "A great sicknesse epidemical did the Lord lay upon us, that the greatest part of the town was sick at once. Few died, but of these were the choycest flowers and most gracious saints." The epidemic prevailed throughout New England, probably from the absence of frost in the previous winter.

1657. A synod held to ascertain who were proper subjects of baptism.

1660, Feb. 1. "About 7 o clock there was an earthquake. At Roxbury the shaking was most discernible."

1661, May 28. "Judah Browne, and Peter Pierson Quakers, tied to a carts tail and whipt through the town with 10 stripes after receiving 20 at Boston, and again 10 stripes at Dedham."

1662, June 10. A synod at Boston. "It pleased God this spring to exercise the country with a severe drought, but some were so rash as to impute it to the sitting of the Synod."

1663, Jan. 26. An earthquake occurred.

1664. "A great and dreadful comet seen in New England."

1667, March 25. "Samuel Ruggles, going up the meeting hill, was struck by lightning, his two oxen and horse killed, a chest in the cart, with goods in it, burnt in sundry places, himself coming off the cart, carried twenty feet from it, yet no abiding hurt."

1667, 11mo. 4th day. "There were strange noises in the air like guns, drums, vollies of great shotte &c."

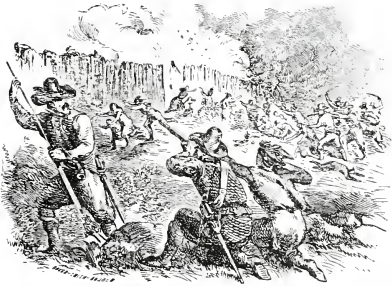
1667, 12mo. 29th. "Appeared a comet or blazing stream which extended to a small star in the river Eridanus, but the star was hid by reason of its proximity to the sun."

1668, 3d mo. 16th. The shock of an earthquake felt. Prodigies were seen in the heavens the night before the Lord's day.

1670, Oct. "An Indian was hanged for killing his wife lodging at an Englishman's house in Roxbury. He threw her out at a chamber window and brake her neck."

1675. "This winter past," says Eliot, "John Sassamon was murdered by wicked Indians. He was a man of eminent parts and wit. He was of late years converted, joined to the church at Natick, baptised, and sent by the church to Assawamsic in Plymouth Patent to preach the gospel. Soon after the war with the Indians brake forth the history whereof I cannot, I may not, relate. The profane Indians prove a sharp rod to the English, and the English prove a sharp rod to the Praying Indians."

1685. Contributions taken up in the church for George Bowen, of Roxbury, "a captive with the Turks."



STORMING OF NARRAGANSET FORT.

The war with the Indians in 1675–6, "Philip's War," as it is called, allusion to which is made by Eliot, was one of the

severest trials New England was ever called upon to encounter. Of Roxbury's share in this contest, so destructive to the colonists, Eliot elsewhere says in his diary, "John Dresser dyed in the warrs and was there buryed. He acquitted himself valiantly. We had many slaine in the warr, no towne for bigness lost more if any so many."

On July 6, 1675, a body of fifty-two praying Indians, Eliot's converts, marched from Boston for Mount Hope under the "intrepid" Capt. Isaac Johnson, of Roxbury, who afterwards certified that the most of them acquitted themselves courageously and faithfully. He, with five other captains, was killed while storming the Narraganset stronghold when that fierce tribe was destroyed at the famous Fort Fight, Dec. 19, 1675. The roll of his company, which also embraces men from the adjacent towns, includes these of Roxbury: —

| | |
|---|---|
| HENRY P[illegible]OWEN. | THOM. CHENEY. |
| ISAAC M[illegible]ORRICE | ABIEL LAMB. |
| THO. BA[illegible]ER. | SAMUEL GARDINER. |
| JOHN WA[illegible]TSON. | JOHN SCOT. |
| ONESIPHO[illegible]ROUS STA[illegible]EY. | NATHL'L WILSON. |
| JOHN CO[illegible]BIN. | JOHN NEWELL. |
| WILLIAM [illegible] LINCOLNE. | WM. DANFORTH. |
| JOSEPH G[illegible]OAD. | JO[illegible]IN HUBBARD. |

Some who escaped from this sanguinary engagement were less fortunate in the Sudbury fight in the following April, in which Thos. Baker, Jr., Samuel Gardiner, John Roberts, Jr., Nathaniel Seaver, Thos. Hawley, Sen., William [illegible]es, Joseph Pepper, John Sharpe, and Thomas Hopkins, of Roxbury, were slain.

New England prospered during the struggle between the Parliament and Charles I. and under Cromwell, who favored her in many ways. With the accession of Charles II there came a change. Thenceforth there was a constant struggle

for colonial rights under the charter. The General Court, in its efforts for their preservation, attempted to remove causes of offence, such as Eliot's book favoring a republic, which it condemned to the flames, and by modifying its laws against Quakers. They succeeded so far as to delay for nearly a quarter of a century a catastrophe they could not prevent. Among other petitions to the General Court praying it to be firm in its resolution "to adhere to the Patent and the privileges thereof," is one dated Oct. 25, 1664, and signed by John Eliot, John Bowles, Edward Bridge, Phillip Torrey, Robert Pepper, Samuel Williams, Samuel Scarbrow, Joseph Griggs, Samuel May, William Lyon, Moses Crafts, Samuel Ruggles, Isaac Curtis, and many other inhabitants of Roxbury. They request the honored Court, both magistrates and deputies, to "stand fast in our present liberty's," and assure them they will pray the Lord to "assist them to stere right in these shaking times."

The abrogation of its charter in 1685 by James II, and the arbitrary government of Andros, stirred Massachusetts to its profoundest depths. The royal governor, with four of his council, were empowered to make laws and raise moneys without any assembly or consent of the people. The laws were not printed. Town meetings were prohibited, excepting on a certain day once a year. Heavy fees were extorted, fifty shillings being the cost for the probate of a will. This was not all, for their charter being gone, their title to their lands and estates went with it, and "all was the King's, and they must take patents from his new representatives, and give what they see meet to impose." The people saw themselves deprived of the privileges of Englishmen, and that their condition was little better than slavery. They said, "Our rulers are those that hate us and the churches of Christ and his servants in the ministry; they are their daily scorn, taunt, and reproach, and yet are we, our lives and liberties, civil and ecclesiastical, in their hands to do with as they please."

Early in 1689, upon a rumor that the Prince of Orange had landed in England, the flame which had long been smothered burst forth with violence, and on April 18th Gov. Andros, Edward Randolph, such of the council as had been most active, and other obnoxious persons, about fifty in all, were seized and confined, and the old magistrates reinstated. The men of Roxbury took part with their brethren of Boston in this revolutionary proceeding, and assisted them in the capture of Fort Hill and the Castle. On May 9th she sent Lieut. Samuel Ruggles and Nathaniel Holmes to meet deputies from the other towns to settle and establish the government. The instructions given at this meeting being too general, another was called, the record of which follows: —

"At a meeting of the inhabitants of Roxbury, orderly called upon the 20th day of this instant May, it was signifyed by the sayd inhabitants that it was their desire that the governor, deputy governor, and such assistants as were chosen and sworn in the year 1686, should resume the government of the colony according to charter liberty. "JNO GORE *Clerk.*"

JoLn Bowles and Lieut. Ruggles represented the town at another meeting, held at the same place June 5th, "to consult for the present emergency."

For the next three quarters of a century the local annals of Roxbury furnish few items of general interest. The capture of Louisburg in 1745, and the Seven Years' War, ending in the conquest of Canada in 1763, necessarily drew upon her resources, but with slight disturbance to her peaceful progress as an agricultural community. Tanning, leather-dressing, and other industrial pursuits flourished, and a fair share of prosperity seems to have been hers.

With the passage of the Stamp Act, early in 1765, the American Revolution may be said to have begun; for although its repeal a year later removed that bone of contention, the discussions to which it gave rise had aroused an antagonism

that was constantly increased by new acts of aggression, and that ceased only with the achievement of American independence. Boston took the lead in opposition to the acts of Parliament, and Roxbury nobly sustained and seconded her. Dr. Warren, William Heath, Col. Joseph Williams, and others of her leading men were in constant communication with Samuel Adams and other master spirits of what was then the "Hub" of revolution, and co-operated with them in counsel and in action. The town meetings were held in the old meeting-house of the First Parish.

Looking over her records of this period, one is not surprised that Lord Dartmouth, his Majesty's secretary for the colonies, should have written to Governor Hutchinson that "The resolves of Roxbury, Marblehead, and Plymouth contained very extraordinary doctrines," or that he should express the hope that few would follow their example, and that the House of Representatives would discountenance them. Many of these papers were written by Heath, and are vigorous and forcible presentations of the views and feelings of the people at large. The bold signature of Deacon Samuel Gridley, the veteran town clerk of Roxbury, is appended to all these ante-revolutionary documents.

In the first of these, dated Oct. 22, 1765, the town instructs its representative, Col. Joseph Williams, to urge the repeal of the Stamp Act, and declares its unwillingness to submit to internal taxes other than those imposed by the General Court. This is its brief and expressive language: —

"That you readily join in such dutiful remonstrances and humble petitions to the King and parliament, and other decent measures as may have a tendency to obtain a repeal of the Stamp Act, and a removal of the heavy burthens imposed on the American British Colonies thereby. And that you do not give your assent to any act of assembly that shall imply the willingness of your constituents to submit to any internal taxes that are imposed, any otherwise than by the Great and General Court of the Province according to the

Constitution of this government. We also recommend a clear, explicit and spirited assertion and vindication of our rights and liberties as inherent in our very natures, and confirmed to us by charter.

"TIMOTHY STEVENS.
EBENEZER NEWELL.
ELEAZER WELD."

One of the most important results of the agitation, caused by the laying of duties upon glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea, in 1767, was the resolution to stop importation, and at the same time to create and develop domestic manufactures. Undoubtedly this policy had its rise in the idea of enforcing a hearing for the protests of America, rather than in that far-seeing statesmanship that prescribes such a course upon its own merits, and it soon became general throughout the colonies. At a town meeting held Dec. 7, 1767, of which Joseph Williams was moderator, it was resolved, that —

"This town will take all proper and Legall measures to encourage the produce and manufactures of this Province, and to lessen the use of superfluities imported from abroad, viz, Loaf sugar, mustard, starch, malt liquors, cheese, limes, lemons, Tea of all sorts, snuffs, Glew, cheney ware, Pewterers Hollow ware, all sorts of millinery ware, stays, Hatts, ready made apparell of all sorts, Gloves, shoes, Broadcloths, that cost more than ten shillings per yard, Muffs, furs, and tippets, Lace of all sorts, sole leather, jewelers ware, Gold and silver Buttons and Plate, silk Velvets, cambricks, silks, Linseed oyle, cordage, anchors, coaches and carriages, House furniture, nails, clocks and watches, fire engines &c. Provided that Boston and the neighboring towns will come into it, And as it is the opinion of this town that divers new manufactures may be set up in America to its great advantage, and some others carried to a greater extent, therefore voted that this town will by all prudent ways and means, encourage the use and consumption of glass and paper made in the Colonies of America, and more especially in this Province, and also of Linnen and woolen cloths."

The committee to procure subscriptions to this document were William Bowdoin, Col. Joseph Williams, Capt. Eleazer Williams, Deacon Samuel Gridley, Eleazer Weld, Henry Wil-

liams, and Capt. Joseph Mayo. At a subsequent meeting for the purpose of "strengthening the hands of the merchants in their Non-importation Agreement," the names of those who continued to import contrary to its tenor were read, and it was —

"*Voted*, That we do with the utmost abhorrence and detestation, view the little, mean and sordid conduct of a few traders in this Province who have and still do import British Goods contrary to said agreement regardless of, and deaf to, the miseries and calamities which threaten this people.

"*Voted*, That to the end the Generation yet unborn may Know who they were that laughed at the distress and calamities of this people; and instead of striving to save their country when in imminent danger, did strive to render ineffectual a virtuous and commendable plan, the names of these importers shall be annually read at March meeting."

Again, under date of May 26, 1769, Roxbury instructs her representative, and recommends a correspondence between the House of Representatives in Massachusetts and the assemblies of other provinces. Samuel Gridley was chosen moderator, and the report of the committee on instructions, acted upon sentence by sentence, was published in the Boston papers. These instructions, ten in number, direct their representative, Col. Joseph Williams, to "proceed in a cool, calm, and steady manner," omitting no opportunity to express their loyalty to their "gracious sovereign," and to strive to the utmost of his power "to cultivate and maintain a good harmony and union between Great Britain and her colonies"; to maintain their "invaluable charter rights"; to strive to preserve the honor and dignity of the assembly; to inquire "why the King's troops have been quartered in the body of the metropolis of the Province while the barracks provided heretofore have remained in a manner useless," and not to comply with any requisition for payment therefor; to inquire why criminals have not been prosecuted and punished, and

declare, with respect to the revenue acts, that instead of being reconciled to them, "we daily find them more and more burthensome; and when we view the trade and commerce of the Province under a very sensible decay and loaded with embarrassments, and the little circulating cash we have left daily draining from us, and the revenue officers, like the horse-leech, crying 'give! give'! our groans and complaints are increased, you will, therefore, by every constitutional method, strive to obtain a repeal of those acts." The remaining instructions relate to the encouragement of arts and manufactures within the Province; the removal of any unfavorable impressions respecting this Province from the minds of the British ministry caused by misrepresentations sent from hence; the cultivation of harmony and correspondence between the representative body of this Province and those of the sister colonies: and, finally, they enjoin frugality with respect to grants of the public moneys, "the load of debt remaining on the Province," and the great scarcity of cash say they, "is a loud call to this."

"AARON DAVIS,
Capt. WM. HEATH,
Capt. JOSEPH MAYO,
ELEAZER WELD,
Lieut. NATHANIEL RUGGLES,
"*Committee.*"

Three days after the "Massacre," as the affray between the soldiers and the populace in King Street, Boston, was called, a committee, chosen at a full town meeting, consisting of Col. Joseph Williams, Eleazer Weld, John Williams, Jr., John Child, Nathaniel Ruggles, Capt. William Heath, and Major William Thompson, waited on Lieut.-Gov. Hutchinson with a petition of the inhabitants of Roxbury, praying for the removal of all the troops out of the town "immediately." The petitioners say that, —

"Having often heard, and many of us seen, with pity and concern, the very great inconveniences and sufferings of our fellow

subjects and countrymen, the inhabitants of the town of Boston, occasioned by several regiments of the King's troops being quartered in the body of that town for many months past; in a peculiar manner we desire to express our astonishment, grief, and indignation at the horrid and barbarous action committed there last Monday evening by a party of those troops, by firing with small arms in the most wanton, cruel, and cowardly manner, upon a number of unarmed inhabitants of said town, whereby four of his Majesty's liege subjects have lost their lives, two others are supposed to be mortally wounded, and several besides badly wounded and suffering great pain and distress; and the town still alarmed and threatened with further and greater mischief."

Hutchinson, on the same day, returned the following answer: —

THOMAS HUTCHINSON

"GENTLEMEN:

"I have no authority to order the King's Troops from any place where they are posted by His Majesty's order, or the order of the Commander in Chief of the forces here. Everything that is in my power to do with respect to any alteration of the place of quartering these troops has already been done by me in pursuance of the unanimous advice of His Majesty's Council.

"T. HUTCHINSON.

"TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF ROXBURY,
BOSTON, 8 March, 1770."

On the firm demand of Samuel Adams, the troops were removed and quiet was restored. Copley's fine picture of the stern old patriot represents him when confronting Hutchinson with the memorable declaration that "Nothing short of the total evacuation of the town, by all the regular troops, will satisfy the public mind and preserve the peace of the Province."

The bells of Roxbury were tolled in honor of the victims, whose funeral took place on the same day the petition was presented.

On Nov. 18, 1772, at a meeting held to consider "the late alarming report that the judges were to receive their salaries direct from the Crown." Capt. William Heath was chosen moderator, and a committee, consisting of Col. Joseph Williams, Isaac Winslow, Major Joseph Mayo, Major Nathaniel Ruggles, and William Bowdoin, were desired to report thereon, and to draw up instructions for their representative, Capt. William Heath. The committee, in their report, presented on Nov. 23, instruct Representative Heath to propose an act appropriating a sufficient fund to support the judges and render them independent of the Crown as far as possible, provided their commissions were during good behavior, and that they might be removed on application to the two Houses. A letter from the town of Boston, requesting a free communication of sentiments "on our common danger." was then considered, and Isaac Winslow, Major Joseph Mayo, William Bowdoin, Capt. Aaron Davis, Capt. William Heath, David Weld, Dea. Samuel Gridley, Noah Perrin, and Nathaniel Patten were chosen a committee to consider and report thereon.

The report of this committee to the "freeholders and other inhabitants" of the town, on Dec. 14, in the language of the record, "made great uneasiness in the meeting, and very difficult to understand the true state of the vote, and numbers of the inhabitants withdrew from the meeting,

after which said report and letter of correspondence were read over again and accepted." In this document, which is not upon record, the committee observe that the papers in question contain nothing new, saving the following, viz., "The probability from the best intelligence they have been able to obtain that the Judges of the Superior Court, the King's attorney, and the Solicitor General, are to receive their support from the revenues of America." Inasmuch, therefore, as the town of Roxbury had already instructed her representative in this particular, they believe that nothing more should be done. Their report, probably drawn up by the chairman, Isaac Winslow, Esq., whose conservative views finally led him to cast in his lot with the loyalists, is signed by all the committee excepting Capt. William Heath, William Bowdoin, and Nathaniel Patten.

The "Boston Gazette" gives full particulars of this stormy meeting, at which the conservative element in the town made a strenuous and wellnigh successful effort to check the popular movement. It appears that after several unsuccessful attempts to ascertain the vote, the House was divided, and a majority rejected the report of the committee, whereupon those gentlemen and their friends withdrew. Moderator Heath then read the minority report, prepared by himself, which was accepted, and which appeared in full in the Boston papers of the day. In this document the committee declare the rights of the colonists to be fully supported and warranted by the laws of God and nature, the New Testament, and the charter of the Province. "Our pious forefathers," said they, "died with the pleasing hope that we, their children, should live free; let none, as they would answer it another day, disturb the ashes of those heroes by selling their birthright."

After a recital of grievances, they proceed to declare in their resolves that they "view these infringements and innovations as insupportable burdens to which they cannot sub-

mit," and express "a grief of heart" that the prayer of the petition of Boston to the governor to permit the General Assembly to come together at the time to which it then stood prorogued was not granted. They also thank the town of Boston for the "great readiness and care discovered by them to do all that in them lies, to preserve the rights, liberties, and privileges of the people inviolate." A committee of correspondence was then chosen, consisting of Capt. William Heath, Nathaniel Patten, Nathaniel Felton, Samuel Sumner, Ebenezer Dorr, David Weld, and Capt. Ebenezer Whiting.

New occasion was offered to the citizens of Roxbury for the expression of their patriotic sentiments by the scheme of the British ministry to raise a revenue in the American colonies by permitting the East India Company to send their tea hither free of duty. It was at once seen that not only was this an odious monopoly of trade, but that it was calculated to circumvent the Americans into a compliance with the revenue law, and to thereby open the door to unlimited taxation. Several of the young men of Roxbury were members of the famous "Tea Party," and lent a hand in making a "teapot" of Boston Harbor on the evening of Dec. 16, 1773. Committees from the towns of Roxbury, Dorchester, Brookline, and Cambridge met with that of Boston, in Faneuil Hall, on Nov. 22, 1773, and were unanimous in opposition to the sale or landing of the obnoxious herb.

At a meeting held on Dec. 3, 1773, to consider this subject, the town, after voting to pass over in silence the patrolling of soldiers "about the streets of this town, with their arms, equipt in a warlike posture," chose Capt. William Heath, Col. Joseph Williams, Aaron Davis, Major Nathaniel Ruggles, and Major Mayo a committee to draw up resolutions suitable to the occasion.

In these the committee find reason to apprehend that the Tea Act was designed to "take in the unwary," and resolve "that the disposal of our own property is the inherent right

of free men; that there can be no property in that which another can of right take from us without our consent; that the claim of Parliament to tax America is, in other words, a claim of right to levy contributions on us at pleasure"; that the purpose for which the tax is laid, namely, for the support of government, the administration of justice, and the defence of America, has a direct tendency to render assemblies useless, and to introduce arbitrary government and slavery; that "a virtuous and steady opposition to this plan of governing America is absolutely necessary to preserve even the shadow of liberty, and is a duty every freeman owes to his country"; that this plan is a violent attack upon the liberties of America; that whoever shall aid or abet in unloading, receiving, or vending the tea is an enemy to America; and that those who refuse to resign their appointments to receive and sell said tea "discover a temper inimical to the rights, liberties, and prosperity of America, and that in such light they will be viewed by this town, from whom they may not expect the least protection." Finally, they declare, —

"That this town look upon themselves as in Duty Bound to themselves and Posterity to Stand fast in that Liberty wherewith the Supream Being hath made them Free, and that they will readily Join with the Town of Boston, and other Sister Towns, in Such Constitutional Measures, as shall be Judged proper, to preserve and hand down to Posterity Inviolate those Inestimable Rights and Liberties handed down to us under Providence by our worthy Ancestors."

As a consequence of the destruction of the tea in her harbor, Boston was singled out for the vengeance of the government. Her port was closed on June 1, 1774; Gage, the royal governor, fortified the Neck between Boston and Roxbury, and other measures were taken by both parties calculated to precipitate a conflict. A Continental Congress had been called, and a Provincial Congress was to be convened at Concord on Oct. 5, 1774. To this body, Roxbury, on

Sept. 28, sent Capt. William Heath and Aaron Davis, giving them for their guidance the instructions voted by the town of Boston to its delegates, which, among other things, enjoined upon them "to act upon such matters as may come before you in such a manner as shall appear to you most conducive to the true interests of this town and Province, and most likely to procure the liberties of all America." These same delegates were re-elected to the second Provincial Congress, held in February following.

On Dec. 26, after choosing a committee of fifteen persons, viz., Moses Davis, Daniel Brown, Major Nathaniel Ruggles, Lieut. Robert Pierpont, Caleb Hayward, Ebenezer Dorr, John Williams, Ensign Joshua Felton, Lieut. John Greaton, Stephen Williams, tanner, Lieut. Jeremiah Parker, Major Ebenezer Whiting, Deacon David Weld, Col. William Heath, and Eleazer Weld, to "carry into execution the agreement and association of the late Continental Congress," the town took the important step of adopting and encouraging its minute-men by passing the following votes, viz.: —

"To know if this Town will grant any Sum of Money for the Encouragement of one Quarter part of the Militia in this Town in order to their Perfecting themselves in Military Discipline, agreeable to the Recommendation of the Provintial Congress.

"To Encourage one quarter part of the Militia Minutemen, so cal'd.

"Then Voted that they hold themselves in Readiness at a Minutes Warning, compleat in Arms and Ammunition; that is to say a good and Sufficient Firelock, Baynot, thirty Rounds of Powder and Ball, Pouch and Napsack.

"Voted that these Minutemen meet and Exercise twice a week three Hours Each time.

"Then Voted to allow Each Person one Shilling Lawfull Money for every three Hours Duty.

"Voted that their be a fine laid on them the said Minutemen in case they do not appear at time and place as Prefixt by the Commanding Officer.

"Then Voted that the fine be one Shilling Lawful Money for their

non appearance unless they have an Excuse which shall be Satisfactory to their Commanding Officers.

"Voted to choose a Committee to Draw up the Articles of Inlistment for the said Company of Minutemen.

"Then Voted and chose a committee of three Persons, viz — Col. William Heath, Capt. Joseph Williams, Liev't Robert Pierpont.

"Voted that the Commanding Officer of the said Minute Company order that a fair account be kept of the attendance of those Persons, after having Inlisted, that the said account may be brought before the Town when cal'd for."

At the meetings held March 6 and 20, 1775, further action was taken upon this subject. The companies were reorganized so that there was one in each parish, the pay of the men was increased to sixpence per hour, and the fine for non-attendance increased to two shillings. One hundred pounds was appropriated for their pay.

In a letter to Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, dated "Roxbury, April 21, 1738," General Heath says, "The first company of minute-men raised in America in 1775 preparatory to the defence of their invaluable rights and liberties, was raised in this town, and that company, with others, distinguished itself in the Battle of Lexington on the 19th of April, 1775."

The "Boston Gazette" of Nov. 28, 1774, tells us that "At a meeting in Roxbury last week for choice of military officers for the first parish, Rev. Mr. Adams opened the meeting with prayer, after which he was chosen mederator. The officers chosen were, —

Capt. JOSEPH HEATH, *Captain.*
Mr. JOHN GREATON, *Lieutenant.*
Mr. JOSHUA FELTON, *Ensign.*

And at another meeting since, for another company, there were chosen, —"

AARON DAVIS, *Captain.*
ROBERT PIERPONT, *Lieutenant.*
NATHANIEL FELTON, *Ensign.*
Capt. JOSEPH WILLIAMS, *Sergeant.*

Aggressive military operations having been begun by Gen. Gage, in the expedition to Salem, for the seizure of cannon belonging to the Province, early in March, 1775, couriers were stationed by the Americans at Roxbury, Charlestown, and Cambridge, the three avenues from Boston, to alarm the country should the attempt be made to destroy the military stores that were being collected by them at Concord. The wisdom of this step was soon apparent.

Three companies of Roxbury minute-men, commanded respectively by Moses Whiting, William Draper, and Lemuel Child, responded to their country's call on the 19th of April, and did good service on that memorable occasion. Their lieutenants were Jacob Davis, Moses Draper, Thomas Mayo, John Davis, Lemuel May, and Isaac Williams. Heath, Warren, and Greaton were actively occupied during the day in assembling the scattered guerilla parties of minute-men, and posting them advantageously, the former, on account of his rank, exercising command, or so much of it as the impromptu nature of the affair would admit of. Moses Whiting's company afterward made part of Heath's regiment, and then of Greaton's, serving throughout the campaigns of 1775 and 1776. Moses Draper led a company of Gardner's Middlesex regiment at Bunker's Hill. Edward Payson Williams, a corporal in Capt. Child's company, afterwards commanded a company in Greaton's regiment, and died in the service in 1777. His first lieutenant, Samuel Foster, also became a captain in Greaton's, with Jonathan Dorr as his second lieutenant.

Other Roxbury men who held commissions in the army were, William Wyman, a captain in Patterson's regiment during the siege, and who died in Roxbury, 3 March, 1820, aged eighty-one; Samuel Mellish, lieutenant and quartermaster in Greaton's regiment, and Robert Williams, lieutenant and paymaster of Henry Jackson's regiment, the father of Mrs. Walter Baker, of Dorchester, and grandfather of Alexander Williams, of the "Old Corner Bookstore" of Boston.

Complete lists of these minute companies, copied from the State archives, are here given: —

"Muster roll of the company from Roxbury under the command of Capt. Moses Whiting, in Col. John Greaton's Minute Regiment (Served 28 days from April 19, 1775.)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Capt. Moses Whiting. | Ebenezer Corey. | Stephen Mills. |
| 1st Lt Jacob Davis. | Nehemiah Davis. | Solomon Munroe. |
| 2d Lt. Moses Draper | Moses Davis. | Jedidiah Munroe. |
| Sergt. James Herring. | Jonathan Dorr. | John Parker. |
| Joseph Smith. | John Dowse, Jr. | David Richards. |
| Samuel Foster. | John Eayres. | Joseph Richards. |
| John Cluly Jones. | George Geyer. | Moses Richardson |
| Corpl. Gersham Jackson. | Jeames Goggen. | Nathaniel Scott. |
| Jacob Whitemore. | Joseph Gore. | Michael Smith. |
| Noah Parker. | James Griggs, Jr. | Nathaniel Talbot. |
| Fifer, Wm. Dorr. | John Henshaw. | Lemuel Tucker. |
| Drummer, John Gore. | David How. | Ebenezer Webb. |
| Privates, | Joseph Hunt. | Jacob Weld. |
| Joseph Bailey. | John Kneeland. | Thomas Weld. |
| Wm. Bosson, Jr. | Benj. Knower. | Benj. West. |
| Samuel Bowman. | James Lewis. | Ebenezer Whitney. |
| Jonathan Brintnall. | Joshua Lewis. | Thomas Williams. |
| James Burrel, Jr. | John Mather. | Francis Wood." |
| Stephen Clapp. | Jeremiah Masher, Jr. | |

"Roxbury, 7th Dec., 1775. A true and just roll of the Second Company in Roxbury, commanded by Capt. William Draper in Col. Wm. Heath's Regiment, the 19th day of April, when called to the 3d day of May and then dismissed.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Capt. Wm. Draper. | John Dinsdell. | Samuel Mayo. |
| Lt. Thomas Mayo. | Wm. Dinsdell. | Jere. McIntosh. |
| Lt. John Davis. | Jona. Draper. | Jacob Parker. |
| Sergt. Noah Davis. | Nat. Draper. | Stephen McIntosh. |
| Paul Draper. | Samuel Freuch. | Nat. Perry. |
| David Richards. | Samuel Gay. | Joshua Pond. |
| Corpl. Daniel Lyon. | Thomas Giles. | Samuel Richards. |
| David Baker. | Moses Griggs. | Wm. Salter. |
| Drummer, Wm. Warren. | Thaddeus Hyde. | Eben. Talbot. |
| Privates, | Lewis Jones. | Benj. Weld. |
| Jeremiah Bacon. | Josiah Kenny. | Wm. Weld. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jona. Bird. | Jno. Kneeland. | Isaac Whitney. |
| Moses Blackman. | James Keith. | Jacob Whitney. |
| Roland Clark. | Ezra Kimball. | Stephen Whitney. |
| Benj. Corey. | Timothy Lewis. | Rufus Whiting. |
| Timothy Crehore. | Samuel Lewis. | Ephraim Wilson. |
| Nat. Davis. | Samuel Lauchlin. | Moses Wilson." |

"Roxbury, Dec. 16, 1775. A true and just roll of the Third Company in Roxbury, commanded by Capt. Lemuel Child, in Col. Wm. Heath's Regiment, the 19th day of April, then called to the 3d day of May, and then dismissed.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Capt. Lemuel Child. | Privates, | John Foster. |
| Lt. Lemuel May. | John Adams. | Wm Gould. |
| Lt. Isaac Williams. | Elijah Child. | Asa Morse. |
| Ensign Samuel White. | John Child. | Thomas Parker. |
| Sergt. Eben Weld. | Abijah Clarke. | Eben Pond. |
| Stephen Payson. | Aaron Draper. | Samuel Star. |
| Ezra Davis. | Ichabod Draper. | Peter Walker. |
| Isaac Sturtevant. | Paul Dudley. | Elijah Weld. |
| Corpl. Payson Williams. | Thomas Dudley. | Job Weld. |
| John Lowder. | Peter Everet. | David White. |
| Joseph Weld. | John Foster. | Wm. Wood. |
| Joseph Brewer. | Eben Goodenough. | Jason Winch." |

As the principal events of the ensuing siege are elsewhere related, only such matters will be here introduced as are unconnected with Roxbury localities.

Boston was so closely invested that the British army could supply itself with fresh meat, straw, or fodder only from the islands in the harbor. This brought on several skirmishes, in which the Americans, besides being initiated in warfare, were generally successful. The first one occurred on the morning of May 21, at Grape Island, where the British attempted to carry off a quantity of hay, but were driven off by the people of Weymouth and the adjacent towns, aided by three companies detached from Roxbury by Gen. Thomas. Warren was present on this occasion, and the hay, the object of the expedition, was burned by the Americans. He was

again present at a similar affair on the 27th, at Noddle's Island (East Boston), where the British were again defeated with loss. On May 31 it was ordered that the stock taken from Noddle's Island belonging to Henry Howell Williams, be delivered to his father, Col. Joseph Williams, of Roxbury, for the use of his son.

On the night of June 2, Col. Greaton commanded a party which took off about eight hundred sheep and lambs from Deer Island, together with a number of cattle, also a barge belonging to one of the men-of-war, with some prisoners. These successes so encouraged the people that they stripped every island between Chelsea and Point Alderton of forage and cattle, and the lighthouse at the entrance of the harbor was burnt down.

The forces under Gen. Thomas at Roxbury, early in June, consisted of the regiments of Thomas, Learned, Fellows, Cotton, Walker, Read, Danielson, Brewer, and Robinson, of Massachusetts, numbering four thousand; Gen. Spencer's Connecticut troops, containing the regiments of Spencer, Parsons, and Huntington; those of Rhode Island, under Gen. Greene, stationed at Jamaica Plain (Varnum's, Hitchcock's, and Miller's regiments), and three or four artillery companies with field pieces and a few heavy cannon. On the 13th of June authentic advice was given to the American commanders that the night of June 18 had been fixed upon by Gen. Gage to take possession of Dorchester Heights. To counteract this move of the enemy, the Americans, on the night of the 16th, fortified Breed's Hill and brought on the battle of the 17th of June. The success of the British on this occasion was so dearly purchased as to prevent the accomplishment of their original object. Greene declared that the Americans would like to sell them another hill at the same price. But glorious as was the result to America, it was purchased at the sacrifice of one of her noblest sons, the sagacious, fearless patriot, Joseph Warren.

At the expiration of the siege, a portion of the army was sent to Canada, and the remainder to New York, the scene of operations of the following campaign. The citizens of Roxbury returned to the homes they had abandoned to the army, and the town resumed its wonted peaceful appearance. Some of the barracks were subsequently occupied as the rendezvous of recruits for the regiments of Colonels Greaton, Bailey, and others.

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On May 23, 1775, the town instructed the selectmen to "take care of the estates of those gentlemen that have left them and gone into Boston." The loyalists of Roxbury were, without exception, men of high character and influence, most of whom abandoned valuable estates for the sake of principle. Their houses and lands were leased by the selectmen until the passage of the Confiscation Act of 1779 made them the property of the State, for whose benefit they were eventually sold.

Oppressed as it was by the presence of large numbers of ill-disciplined militiamen, who occupied its houses for barracks, trampled its growing crops, cut down its fruit trees, and inflicted much greater injury than the enemy's cannon, no wonder the town, in August, petitioned the General Court for an abatement of its Province tax. The petitioners say: —

"In 1774 the real and personal estates were estimated at £19,572, out of which sum, upon a careful examination, £4,417 is totally lost, and the possessors, eighty-nine in number, are driven off from their respective habitations and employment, and whose estates now lie common and unimproved. In addition to which, the profits of about thirty of the real estates in said town, calculated at £2,373, have shrunk in value not less than three fourths. Of many others, the profits have necessarily diminished on account of the encampment in their fields and orchards. The improvement of upwards of four hundred acres of salt marsh are also entirely lost. A great number of polls in the town (exclusive of those in the army) less than the year past. That the town poor are removed from the workhouse, where their earnings went far towards their support, but in the present distressed situation of the town they can't be employed.

A number of poor people who have heretofore lived without assistance from the town, having fled from their habitations and business, are now calling upon the town for help, and many others, with their families, it is expected will in the course of the next winter be throwing themselves upon the town for support, and of consequence the town tax will be much enlarged. This petition is not because they want to shirk their duty to pay all they can, but because they feel that their abilities will not admit of their paying more than one third of their old tax.

"ELEAZER WELD,
NATHANIEL RUGGLES,
JOSEPH MAYO,
DAVID WELD,
INCREASE SUMNER,
*"Committee."*

In consequence of this petition an abatement of two ninths of its tax was allowed.

On May 22, 1776, the town instructed her representatives, Dr. Jonathan Davies, Aaron Davis, and Increase Sumner, that "if the Honorable Congress should, for the safety of the said colonies, declare them independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain, they, the said inhabitants, will solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes to support them in the measure." A year later, Roxbury instructs her representatives to favor the adoption of a constitution for the State, but it was not until May, 1780, that the instrument was accepted by the town.

Toryism, which had been so effectually repressed two years before, again began to show itself. Pierce's diary, under date of April 19, 1777, says, "There were five tories carted out of Boston, and tip't up in Roxbury. They were ordered never to return to Boston upon pain of death." Soon afterwards the town chose Samuel Williams, "agreable to an act of the General Court, to procure evidence of the inimical dispositions of any persons in the town, and to lay such evidence before a court appointed for the tryal of such persons."

The Articles of Confederation of the Thirteen United Colonies were adopted by the town on Jan. 30, 1778.

Among the evils experienced by the country during its struggle for liberty, none was more keenly felt than the constant depreciation of the currency, bringing in its train forestalling and enhanced prices for almost everything. In one day, Samuel Williams, of Roxbury, cleared two hundred dollars, on sales of four hundred and fifty, the proceeds of his marketing in Boston. On July 12, 1779, a committee of twenty-one from all parts of the town were directed to draw up resolves for appreciating the currency, and reducing the exorbitant prices of the necessaries of life. They were to determine what proportion the prices of foreign and internal produce ought, in justice, to bear to each other, and to post in the public places in the town the prices of articles specified. "disregarders" thereof to receive "that severest of all temporal punishments, the displeasure and contempt of the people." "For a second offence," they say, "his name shall be published in the several Boston newspapers as a pest of society, and unworthy the confidence and esteem of all mankind."

One of the ablest of the State papers of Roxbury is that containing its instructions to its representative, Thomas Clarke, dated May 19, 1783. It was probably drawn up by Dr. William Gordon, chairman of the committee. Such instructions it esteems to be a duty and a right. "at this critical and important period, when we are just emerging from a long and expensive war." It enjoins upon him to keep in view the end proposed by entering into society, viz., the preservation of life, liberty, and property, which are to be enjoyed equally by all; an observance of the letter and spirit of the Constitution; a watch over the executive and judicial departments, that any malpractices may be discovered and immediately stopped; to secure the faithful and economical expenditure of the public moneys; a jealous supervision of the public property; economy in the public business, and in the management of the public domain; the

necessity of permanent salaries for the judges; the maintenance of the financial honor of the State, and the establishment of the militia on the most respectable foundation. "In imposing duties, you will remember that small excises produce the greatest revenue by excluding temptations to smuggle, and rendering needless a swarm of officers, who, besides the enormous expense they occasion, prove obnoxious to the community, and, generally, serve as tools to government. We heartily bless God that the war has terminated so honorably and advantageously, and take this opportunity of testifying our gratitude to our American negotiators for the probity, wisdom, and firmness with which they have conducted."

Of the fifth article of the treaty, recommending the revisal of the confiscation acts and the admission of the refugees, they say, "We conceive these acts to have been just and politic, nor do we perceive, by any events that have yet taken, or probably will take place, the necessity or convenience of their repeal, and you are therefore to use your influence that the absentees do not return."

Shays's Insurrection broke out in the fall of 1786. Roxbury, as usual, performed her part in its suppression, sending her artillery company under Capt. John Jones Spooner, and also an infantry company under Capt. Moses Draper, whom we have already seen a lieutenant at Lexington, and a captain at Bunker's Hill. The artillery company, before marching, listened to an address from Mr. Samuel Quincy, at the old meeting-house, on the importance and necessity of a well-regulated militia. On Nov. 30, Roxbury sent some mounted volunteers on a secret expedition, but they returned without effecting their object. A company of veterans belonging to the First Parish, organized for the protection of the Supreme Court to be held at Cambridge, with Major-Gen. Heath for its captain, and Capt. Joseph Williams and Hon. John Read, lieutenants. In the answer of the town to the address of the town of Boston, the committee say: —

"We are persuaded that there are grievances that ought to be redressed, and have instructed our representatives to endeavor to obtain redress. This town has borne a large share in the burdens, the losses and expenses of the late war; many of us have lost a considerable part of our property: many of our respectable fellow-citizens have fallen sacrifices. We are, therefore, unwilling to part with our freedom, purchased at so great expense of blood and treasure. You may, therefore, be assured we will join you in a redress of grievances, in supporting with firmness the constitution of our country, and assist you in handing down to posterity, sacred and unimpaired, the freedom we have dearly purchased."

In the instructions to Representative Clarke, urging him to endeavor to obtain a redress of grievances, and to bring about the re-establishment of public faith, public credit, and public confidence, they also say: —

"With abhorrence and detestation do the inhabitants of this town view and consider the late riotous proceedings. A community can no more exist without government, than a body without a soul, and an attempt illegally and wantonly to burst the bands of civil society can be considered in no other light than the most consummate political suicide or rankest treason."

At the public celebration in Boston, on Feb. 8, 1788, of the ratification of the Constitution of the United States, the farmers of Roxbury, with a plough and other implements of husbandry, led the procession. All the industrial arts were represented, and the occasion was one of extraordinary interest. One of its most attractive features was a ship on a sledge, drawn by thirteen horses, and manned by a number of sailors, called the "New Constitution." An old boat, irreparably leaky, also drawn on a sledge, represented the Old Confederation.

In September, 1814, while the second war with England was in progress, the town, by vote, unanimously engage "that the inhabitants of the town of Roxbury will, by manual labor, pecuniary contributions, and military services, do whatever the executive of the Commonwealth shall require to put

the State of Massachusetts in a proper posture of defence." The veteran soldier, Gen. Henry Dearborn, was a member of the town's committee to take measures for defence "in the present alarming condition of the country."

No sketch of the history of Roxbury would be complete that failed to speak of the numerous towns that owe their origin to her. A feeling somewhat akin to that of the Western pioneer, who, when he heard of a settler within ten miles of him, felt that it was time for him to leave, "population was becoming so dense," must have influenced the early inhabitants of this town, judging from their migratory propensities; and there are to-day more of their descendants inhabiting the Connecticut valley than are to be found in Roxbury herself. Her citizens were among the original founders of Dedham, in 1635; of Springfield, in 1636; New Roxbury, now Woodstock, Conn., in 1683; Pomfret, Conn., in 1687; Lambstown, now Hardwick, in 1686; Dudley, in 1731; Bedford, N. H., in 1732; Warwick, in 1744; Worcester, Colerain, and Oxford, besides others chiefly settled by her, as Scituate, Braintree, Newbury, etc.

In answer to a petition of Roxbury, the General Court, on Nov. 7, 1683, granted a tract of land seven miles square in what was called the "Nipmuck Country," for a village to be laid out about Quatessit, afterwards called "New Roxbury," now Woodstock, Conn. "I gave New Roxbury the name of Woodstock in 1690," says Judge Sewall, "because of its nearness to Oxford, for the sake of Queen Elizabeth and the notable meetings that have been held at the place bearing that name in England." Oct. 27, 1684, the committee of the town reported a place "comodiose" for a township in the Nipmuck Country at "Seneksuk and Wapagusset and the lands ajasiant."

Thither, in July, 1686, some thirty families of Roxbury pioneers, denominated "goers," wended their way, bivouacking by stream and grove, passing at Medway the last outpost

of civilization, and thence toiling onward over the old "Connecticut Path," through thirty miles of savage wilderness, to their destined home, traversing a distance of eighty miles. Among them were Morris, Bowen, Bugbee, Craft, Chandler, Davis, Griggs, Gary, Johnson, Leavens, May, Lyon, Scarborough, and others of the best families of the town. A large number were young men with growing families. Edward Morris, Samuel Scarborough, Samuel Craft, John Chandler, William Lyon, Jonathan Peake, and Henry Bowen were men advanced in years, going out with grown-up sons to the new settlement, leaving estates behind them.

The two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Roxbury was celebrated Oct. 8, 1830, with great *eclat*. Upon the square near the Norfolk House a procession was formed, consisting of military, naval, and civic associations, together with a large body of citizens, who, under escort of the Norfolk Guards, marched through the principal streets of the town. An historical address was delivered by Gen. H. A. S. Dearborn, and a centennial poem by Dr. Thomas Gray, of Jamaica Plain. A dinner at the Norfolk House followed, and in the evening the town was illuminated by fire-works from the Old Fort, and a quantity of blazing tar-barrels on Tommy's Rocks.

On Nov. 22 of the centennial year 1876, another celebration of the historic old town took place under the auspices of the Roxbury City Guard. Gen. Horace Binney Sargent was the orator, and the reunion proved an occasion of unusual interest, especially to the older citizens.

From the period of her incorporation as a city, on March 12, 1846, to the date of her annexation to Boston, on Jan. 6, 1868, the following citizens occupied the mayor's chair: —

| | |
|---|---|
| JOHN JONES CLARKE . . . . . | 1846. |
| H. A. S. DEARBORN . . . . . | 1847-51. |
| SAMUEL WALKER . . . . . | 1851-3. |
| LINUS BACON COMINS . . . . . | 1854. |

| | |
|---|---|
| JAMES RITCHIE . . . . . | 1855. |
| JOHN SHERBURNE SLEEPER . . . | 1856–8. |
| THEODORE OTIS . . . . . | 1859–60. |
| WILLIAM GASTON . . . . . | 1861–2. |
| GEORGE LEWIS . . . . . | 1863–7. |

In closing this brief historical summary, there remains only to add that, after a ten years' experience, annexation has not proved an unmixed blessing. The large real-estate owners in the easterly part of the town, the prime movers in the project, have been materially benefited; a more liberal scale of expenditure has been applied to public works; and the commercial importance of Boston has been increased to the extent of the added population and territory resulting from it. Roxbury has Cochituate water, to be sure, a matter of grave importance to her, but on the other hand, she has lost the control of her own affairs, being completely swallowed up in a large municipality in which her influence is necessarily small, even her name, interwoven as it is with history, having fallen into disuse. A careful supervision of its own interests is essential to the well-being of every community, and this can never be so easily and effectually done in a large as in a small body politic. Let other towns heed the lesson.

## CHAPTER II.

Physical Characteristics. — Pudding-stone. — Early Descriptions of Roxbury. — Localities. — Boundaries. — Titles to Land. — Persons and Estates, 1630–40. — Streets and Highways. — Street Lamps. — Conveyances. — Occupations. — Population. — Dress. — Fashions. — Food. — Houses. — Furniture. — Domestic Life. — Slaves. — Social Distinctions. — Sunday. — Currency and Prices. — Social Usages. — Apprentices.

FIFTY years ago Roxbury was a suburban village, with a single narrow street, and dotted with farms, many of which still remained in the hands of the descendants of their original proprietors. The town was concentrated in Roxbury Street, all the rest was country. The territorial exigencies of the neighboring city of Boston, with whose interests hers have always been closely identified, have changed all this, and in its stead we now see broad avenues, spacious and well-built streets, numerous church, school, and other public edifices, well-filled stores, extensive manufacturing establishments, and a busy population of more than forty thousand souls.

The prospect, from the peculiar configuration of the town, is constantly changing with the point of view, and an air of affluence and comfort pervades the place. Upon its annexation to Boston in 1867, a remarkable rise in real estate ensued, and a great impetus was given to its growth and improvement. The most marked change in this respect took place, however, in the decade between 1840 and 1850, when the population increased from nine thousand to eighteen thousand, a city charter having been granted in 1846.

The natural surface of Roxbury is uneven and rocky, hence its name, which in the early records is usually spelled Rocksbury, or borough. To this cause also it owes much of its

varied and picturesque beauty, heightened as it has been by the taste and skill displayed in its horticultural and architectural embellishment.

The soil is rich and productive. One of its principal features is the conglomerate or pudding-stone with which it abounds, much used in church building, its brownish hue imparting an air of antiquity to the newest structure.

Geologists tell us this stone was laid down by glacial action. In many places this is very apparent. One of the most noticeable is on a wooded hill to the left of Washington and beyond Townsend Street, where the once famous cave was located. On the southern slope, among the trees, are several masses of conglomerate, the large, projecting round stones of which have been smoothed down nearly to the surface of the main rock. A chemical agency is observable in this structure in the veins of quartz by which it is frequently traversed. As this coarse conglomerate contains more calcareous matter than the slaty varieties, and decomposes more readily, the best soil is found over this formation, which occurs in Eastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and it furnishes the finest examples of exuberant farms and gardens in this State. The predominant direction of its strata is nearly east and west, and the dip northerly, approaching to forty-five degrees. The rounded nodules or plums show the action of water, and that the earliest of the deluges by which the materials of the Roxbury conglomerate were accumulated must have been of great power.

In view of the fact that this stone is so abundant in Roxbury, and that the islands in the harbor are evidently the remnants of a once continuous similar formation, it seems extraordinary that not a ledge of rock, no building-stone whatever, has been found in original Boston.

"For the country itself," writes Winthrop, soon after his arrival, "I can discern little difference between it and our own. We have had only two days which I have observed

more hot than in England. Here is as good land as I have seen there, but none so bad as there. Here is sweet air, fair rivers, and plenty of springs, and the water better than in England. Here can be no want of anything to those who bring means to raise out of the earth and sea."

> "If fresh meat be wanting to fill up our dish,
> We have carrots and turnips as much as we wish;
> And is there a mind for a delicate dish,
> We repair to the clam banks and *there* we catch fish."

From Wood's "New England's Prospect," the earliest topographical account of the Massachusetts colony, published in 1634, I take this first printed description of Roxbury: —

"A mile from this town (Dorchester) lieth Roxberry which is a faire and handsome countrey town, the inhabitants of it being all very rich. This town lieth upon the maine so that it is well wooded and watered, having a cleare and fresh Brooke running through the towne; up which, although there come no alewives, yet there is great store of smelts, and therefore it is called Smelt Brooke. A quarter of a mile to the north side of the towne is another river, called Stony river, upon which is built a water milne. Here is good ground for corne, and meadow for cattle: Up westward from the towne it is something rocky, whence it hath the name of Roxberry; the inhabitants have faire houses, store of cattle, impaled corne fields and fruitful gardens. Here is no harbor for ships because the towne is seated in the bottom of a shallow bay, which is made by the necke of land on which Boston is built, so that they can transport all their goods from the ships in boats from Boston which is the nearest harbor."

Next in the order of time is Edward Johnson's description, written in 1652. He says: —

"Roxbury is sitnated between Boston and Dorchester, being well watered with coole and pleasant springs issuing forth the rocky hills, and with small freshets watering the vallies, of this fertill towne whose forme is somewhat like a wedge double pointed entering between the two fore named towns and filled with a very laborious people whose labors the Lord hath blessed that in the room of dismall swampes and tearing bushes, they have very goodly fruit trees. fruitful fields and gardens, their heard of cows, oxen,

and other young cattell of that kind about 350. and dwelling houses neere upon 120. Their streets are large and some fayre houses, yet they have built their house for church assembly destitute and unbeautified with other buildings. The church of Christ here is increased to about 120 persons."

One more description of the old town tells us how it appeared just at the close of the Revolutionary war: —

"It (Roxbury) is about seven and three fourths miles in length, not more than two in breadth in the widest part, and contains upwards of 7,100 acres. The soil, where tilled, produces good hay and all kinds of vegetables and fruit common to the country, but the surface of the ground is in general rough, hilly, and rocky; at the lowest computation there are 400 acres of land unimprovable in the town; the wood belonging to it was very considerably lessened in consequence of the extraordinary demand for the use of the American army encamped in and near the town in the winter of 1775; there now remains about 350 acres of woodland. It has several high hills which afford an agreeable prospect of the town and harbor of Boston, and one large pond covering about 120 acres, near which is a plain of a mile in length known by the name of Jamaica Plain, remarkable for the pleasantness of its situation and the number of gentlemen's houses upon it; but only one river called Muddy River from a pond of that name which is the source of it, and lies six miles from its mouth where it empties into the bay between Cambridge and Boston. There is little trade here, though several branches are carried on to advantage, particularly in skins and hides, but the chief dependence of the inhabitants is upon husbandry. It has 213 dwelling-houses mostly of wood, which lie scattered, not contiguous except at the entrance of the town from Boston; 18 tan-houses and slaughter-houses, one chocolate mill, two grist-mills, 167 barns, 160 corn-houses and smaller buildings, three meeting-houses of the Congregational denomination, one grammar school, and four other schools."

Originally well wooded, the town suffered from the cause just mentioned, which left little that could be used for fuel, sparing not even the orchards. Water was plenty. Besides Muddy River, Stony, Smelt, and Dorchester Brooks, Jamaica, Muddy, and other smaller ponds, there were numerous springs,

of one of which, in Roxbury Street, John Dane says, "I never drank wine in my life that more refresht me." Smelt Brook, one of the original features of Roxbury, is now annihilated. Stony Brook, which has its rise in Muddy Pond, was once a favorite resort for anglers. It now serves various manufacturing establishments.

The principal geographical divisions of the town were, the First Parish, Jamaica Plain, and Spring Street, corresponding with its easterly, central, and western portions. The latter received its name as early as 1690, and became the Second Parish in 1712. A line in prolongation of Walk Hill Street to Brookline would nearly coincide with its eastern limit. The central was named before 1667, and became the Third Parish in 1770. The two more recently constituted West Roxbury. These parochial divisions had all disappeared before 1820. Punch Bowl Village was at Muddy River, now Brookline; Roxbury Precinct included the westerly side of Parker Hill and vicinity; Pierpont's Village clustered around the mill, where now the Roxbury station of the Boston and Providence Railroad is located; and Canterbury, whose nomenclature is a puzzle to the antiquary, was that rather quiet and obscure portion of the town, yet unvisited by Chaucer's Pilgrims, lying between Forest Hills and Dorchester.

For a period of two hundred and twenty years the limits of Roxbury remained essentially the same. It extended eight miles from east to west, and two from north to south, and contained an area of ten thousand six hundred and eighty-six acres. On the east was Boston, partly separated from her by a shallow bay; Brookline and Newton made her northern boundary; Dedham lay on the west, and Dorchester on the south.

The boundary line between Roxbury and Boston was established by the General Court in 1636, when it was also ordered "that all the rest of the ground between Dorchester bounds and Boston bounds shall belong to the town of

Roxbury, easterly of Charles River, except the property of the aforesaid towns which they have purchased of particular persons. Roxbury not to extend above eight miles in length from their meeting-house." Respecting the Dedham boundary there was much controversy, and it was not finally settled till 1697. Alterations were made in the Boston line by the legislative acts of 16th March, 1836; 23d April, 1838; and 6th April, 1859. In 1838 one thousand eight hundred acres of Newton, at the extreme southerly part of the town, bounding southwesterly about two hundred and ninety rods upon Charles River, were set off to Roxbury. West Roxbury was set off and incorporated 24th May, 1851. That part of Roxbury lying between Muddy River and the brook, its original boundary, was annexed to Brookline in 1844. In 1852 a portion of Dedham was annexed to West Roxbury. When its annexation to Boston took place, Jan. 6, 1868, Roxbury, which since June 20, 1793, had constituted a portion of Norfolk County, again became a part of the county of Suffolk.

Lands were originally apportioned as follows: each person who came over at his own cost was entitled to fifty acres; each adventurer of £50 in the common stock of the company received two hundred acres, or in that proportion, and those who brought over servants were allowed fifty acres for each. When, in 1686, the old charter was annulled, and new patents for their lands were required of the owners by Governor Andros, they purchased the Indian title in order to strengthen their own, but the governor, intent upon the exaction of his fees, assured them that "the signatures of Indians to title deeds were of no more worth than the scratch of a bear's paw." Each settler had a piece of marsh land for the salt hay, one acre of salt marsh being equal in value to ten of woodland or two of corn or pasture land. From the record book of "Houses and Lands in Roxbury," dated 1654, we find that the number of homesteads at that time was between seventy and eighty, the possessors of lands

numbering ninety. Scarce any of these homesteads remain in the hands of the descendants of their original proprietors.

What appears to be a fly-leaf from the original book of town records, preserved in a torn and fragmentary state, supplies us with the earliest list we have of the inhabitants of the town. Its date is somewhere between 1636 and 1640. The figures on the right of the names, sometimes erroneously supposed to indicate the number of persons in the respective households, have an evident correspondence with the number of acres given in the column on the left, and are perhaps a valuation in pounds and shillings. Some of the figures have been torn off.

*A Note of y^e Estates and Persons of the Inhabitants of Rocksbury.*

| ACRES. | PERSONS AND ESTATES. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | Edward Fason | 1 00 | 00 00 |
| 6 | Martin Stebbin | 2 00 | 00 00 |
| 6½ | John Totman | 2 06 | 00 00 |
| 6½ | Laurence Wittamore | 2 02 | 06 08 |
| 7 | John Stonnard | 2 00 | 09 00 |
| 7½ | Giles Payson | 2 10 | 03 04 |
| 9½ | Gawin Anderson | 3 01 | 00 00 |
| 10 | Richard Pencocke | 3 03 | 00 00 |
| 10½ | John Ruggles | 3 04 | 15 00 |
| 11 | John Levins | 3 17 | 00 00 |
| 11 | Edward Bugbie | 3 17 | 00 00 |
| 12 | Edward Rigges | 4 00 | 00 00 |
| 12 | Edward Bridge | 4 02 | 00 00 |
| 12 | Thomas Ruggles | 4 01 | 15 00 |
| 12 | Thomas Griggs | 4 00 | 00 00 |
| 12 | John Hall | 4 00 | 00 00 |
| 12 | John Trumble | 4 00 | 00 00 |
| 12½ | Richard Peper | 4 03 | 00 00 |
| 14 | Robert Seaner | 4 17 | 00 00 |
| 15 | John Cortels | 5 00 | 00 00 |
| 15 | John Mathew | 5 01 | 00 00 |
| 15 | Abraham Howe | 5 01 | 00 00 |
| 15 | Arthur Gary | 5 02 | 00 00 |
| 15½ | John Bowles | 5 07 | 10 00 |
| 15½ | Isaac Johnson | 5 02 | 00 00 |
| 16½ | Ralph Hemminway | 5 09 | 14 08 |
| 17½ | John Buzwell | 5 17 | 10 00 |
| 18 | Thomas Waterman | 6 01 | 16 08 |
| | Samuel Finch, | 6 14 | 05 00 |
| 19 | William Webb | 4 02 | 00 00 |
| 20 | Thomas Pigge | 6 17 | 00 00 |
| 21 | John Perry | 7 | |
| 21 | Ffrancis Smith | 7 | |
| 21½ | Robert Gamlin | 7 03 | |
| 22 | William Chandler | 7 06 | |
| 22 | Widow Igculden | 7 06 | |
| 22 | Abraham Newell | 7 07 | |
| 24 | Samuel Chapin | 8 | |
| 24½ | William Cheiny | 8 | |
| 24½ | John Pettit | 8 | |
| 25 | Robert Williams | 8 | |
| 25½ | William Perkins | 8 | |
| 26 | John Granes | 8 | |
| 27 | Edward Porter | 9 | |
| 27 | John Roberts | 9 | |
| 27½ | Daniel Brewer | 9 | |
| 28 | James Astwood | 9 | |
| 28½ | John Miller | 9 | |
| 30 | Griffin Craft | 10 00 | |
| 37 | Thomas Lamb | 12 07 | |
| 37 | John Watson | 12 | |
| 39 | Mr John Eliot | 13 00 | |
| | Thomas Bell | 13 13 | 02 00 |
| | Samuel Hagborne | 14 17 | 00 00 |
| | John Johnson | 15 12 | 06 08 |
| 40 | William Curtels | 13 8 | |
| | George Holmes | 13 10 | 10 00 |
| | William Parke | 15 01 | 10 00 |

| ACRES. | PERSONS AND ESTATES. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 188 | John Gore | 15 16 | 00 00 |
| 204 | Isaac Morrill | 17 00 | 00 00 |
| 242 | George Alcock | 20 03 | 00 00 |
| 233 | John Stow | 21 02 | 17 04 |
| 256 | Elder Heath | 21 18 | 03 04 |
| 267 | Wm. Denison | 24 07 | 06 08 |

| ACRES. | PERSONS AND ESTATES. | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 278 | John Weld | 23 03 | 15 00 |
| 288 | Joshua Hewes | 24 00 | 00 00 |
| 305 | Philip Eliot | 25 07 | 18 04 |
| 333 | Mr Thomas Weld | 28 02 | 13 00 |
| 356 | Mr Thomas Dudley | 13 00 | 00 00 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mr Elliot | 8 | goats | 5 | Kidds | Elder Heath | 12 | goats | 7 | Kidds |
| John Johnson | 6 | " | 4 | " | Wm. Denison | 2 | " | 3 | " |
| Isaac Morrill | 4 | " | 3 | " | John Stow | 20 | " | 8 | " |
| Mr Sheafe | 14 | " | 10 | " | Thos Waterman | 7 | " | 6 | " |
| Edward Bugbie | 6 | " | 7 | " | John Burckly | 2 | " | 2 | " |
| Thomas Ffreeman | 3 | " | 1 | " | Edward Sheffield | 2 | " | 1 | " |
| Richard Peacock | 1 | " | 1 | " | William Chandler | 1 | " | 1 | " |
| Dorothy —— | 1 | " | 1 | " | | | | | |

In 1652 the selectmen with three others were appointed to stake out highways, with full powers to settle all matters respecting them. Twenty highways were laid out by Edward Denison, Isaac Johnson, Griffin Craft, and Peleg Heath, in 1663, and their report, which covers nine foolscap pages, pointing out numerous infringements on the part of the abutters, enables us to locate many of the old homesteads. One of the first acts of the town prescribes penalties for taking rocks out of the highways and leaving holes in the road. In the early days these highways were let by the year, for pasturage, and were generally fenced across with a pair of bars to keep out cattle. In 1663 it was agreed at a public town meeting "according to an ancient town order, that every man should have a highway to his division of land in the town where it may be most convenient for him, and so as may be least damage to his neighbor, through whose land he is to have his way."

In 1816 the old system of repairing highways by working out the tax was abolished, and the amount necessary for the purpose raised in the same manner as for other items of expenditure. In 1825 the streets, forty in number, received names, some of which have been since changed, in conse-

quence of annexation. In 1824, Roxbury Street was paved and sidewalks laid. The streets were first lighted in May, 1826, lamps being provided by the inhabitants. Oil, wicks, and lighting were at the charge of the town. Gas was first introduced on Nov. 24, 1850, sixteen years later than in Boston, but there were only ten street gas-lamps at the close of 1852, in which year the Roxbury Gas-Light Company was incorporated. A Board of Health was first established here in 1829.

Hourly coaches began to run between Roxbury and Boston in 1826. Before this the only public conveyance between the two places was a two-horse stage-coach leaving once in two hours. Prior to the establishment of hourlies, all who kept no carriages or horses walked into Boston, — a practice much in vogue long afterwards. Even the ladies walked in and out of town over the Neck, and carried home the bundles containing their purchases. The "Citizens' Line" of Providence stages, Timothy Gay, proprietor, made daily trips through Roxbury, as many as seven or eight coaches sometimes running over the Neck at five o'clock in the morning, this being the only existing route to New York until in 1834 the Providence Railroad was opened with a single track.

Omnibuses, which first came in use in London in 1830, were superseded here in 1856 by horse railroads.

Husbandry was the chief occupation of the people, but the business of tanning, introduced early in the last century, soon assumed extensive proportions, and Roxbury became a "great tannery for the country." This branch of industry ceased here many years ago. Her two landing-places, one on either side of the Neck, gave her for a time a commercial importance which disappeared with the building of the mill-dam and the bridges. Since that period her manufactures and other industries have been varied and extensive, none now having especial predominance, unless it be her breweries.

An estimate of the population of Roxbury in 1652 may be made from Johnson's statement that there were then "neere upon" one hundred and twenty dwellings in the town. These would accommodate about seven hundred souls. The slow growth of the town in the next hundred years is seen in the fact that the colonial census of 1765 gives her a population of one thousand four hundred and sixty-seven, or one hundred and sixteen to the square mile. During the siege the easterly part of the town was almost depopulated, and ten years later her numbers had not perceptibly increased. In 1811 Roxbury had one thousand twenty-six polls, four hundred and twenty-eight dwelling houses, seventy-nine shops, twelve tan-houses, forty-two slaughter-houses, two grist-mills, one carding machine, one cotton and woollen mill, one other mill, three bakehouses, six hundred and ninety-four tillage acres, and one thousand six hundred and fifteen of English hay and upland. According to the United States Census, her population at different periods has been as follows: —

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1790 . . . | 2,226. | 1850 . . . | 18,373. |
| 1810 . . . | 3,669. | 1860 . . . | 25,137. |
| 1830 . . . | 5,247. | 1870 . . . | 34,772. |
| 1840 . . . | 9,089. | | |

Mathew Withington's map of November, 1794, the earliest existing map of Roxbury, gives the boundaries and county roads, Jamaica and Muddy Ponds, the three meeting-houses, and two grist-mills, Pierpont's and Ralph Smith's. The first engraved map, made in 1832 by order of the selectmen from the survey of John G. Hales, presents all the topographical features of the town, gives the names of the streets, and also locates every building then standing, naming a few of the most prominent. A reduced copy of this accurate and interesting map faces the present chapter.

Clothing in the early days, excepting that of the wealthy and professional classes, consisted of home-made fabrics of

wool. Men wore jerkins, smallclothes, ruffs around the neck, and when out of doors short cloaks and steeple-crowned hats. Silk stockings were worn by the gentry, some of whom wore the stiff-plaited linen ruff, while others dressed in the broad, falling collar. For the first half-century red stockings, of yarn, worsted, or silk, were much worn in New England. Those of wash-leather were also used. The band, sometimes prepared with wire and starch so as to stand out "horizontally and squarely," like the ruff, appears on most of the portraits of the Pilgrim fathers. In their day it not only hung down before, but extended round so as to lay on the shoulders and back. They were held generally by the cord and tassel at the neck.

Their Sunday suits were elaborate, ornamental, and expensive, and lasted a lifetime. They wore broad-brimmed hats, turned up into three corners, with loops at the side, showing full bush-wigs beneath them; long coats, having large pocket folds and cuffs, and without collars, the buttons either plated or of silver, and of the size of a half-dollar; vests also without collars, but very long, having graceful, pendulous lappet pockets; shirts with bosoms and wrist-ruffles, and with gold or silver buckles at the wrist united by a link; the neckcloth or scarf of fine linen or figured stuff or embroidered, the ends hanging loosely. The smallclothes reached below the knees, where they were ornamented with silver buckles of liberal size; the legs were covered with gray stockings, and the feet with shoes ornamented with straps and silver buckles.

Square-toed shoes kept their footing from 1689 to 1737, when the round or peaked toe, originally worn by our emigrant ancestors, came again into fashion. A stricture on the dress of the ladies in 1732 speaks of "shoe-toes pointed to the heavens, in imitation of the Laplanders, with buckles of a harness size." As early as 1689 ladies wore dress shoes of silk and satin, richly embroidered. In 1716 laced shoes for women and children are advertised in a Boston paper.

Until 1714 the heels were worn very high. Soon after the settlement, the fashionables of both sexes had large knots or roses of ribbon, generally green, on the instep of their shoes. Boots were seldom worn except by military men. In 1651 any person not worth £200, wearing great boots, was subject to a fine. They were as large at the top as the brim of a hat, and our thrifty sires very properly objected to such a waste of leather. Buskins, a kind of half-boot, worn two centuries ago, are mentioned in the inventory of Thomas Lamb, of Roxbury.

A CAVALIER.

The usual mode of wearing the hair was in the close-cropped fashion of the Roundheads; but there were always those who wore their hair long as a matter of taste, in defiance of the straitlaced brethren. A law against this "feminine protexity" was passed as early as 1649, and was strenuously advocated by the apostle Eliot.

The simple costume of our Puritan mothers was a cheap straw bonnet, with only one bow without, and "no ornament but the face within"; a calico dress of sober colors, high up in the neck, with a simple white muslin collar just peeping over the top; a neat little shawl, and a stout pair of shoes. The young women also wore plain and homespun clothing ordinarily, but on Sunday appeared in silk hoods, lace neckerchiefs, slashed sleeves, and embroidered caps. The propriety of wearing veils in public was a matter of sharp controversy. The law required all to dress within their means, and Mistress Alice Flynt, when accused of wearing a silk hood, was obliged to prove that she was worth £200 in money in order to exonerate herself. The use of calico by the women became general after the Revolution, but home-made

linens, especially a pattern of blue check, were then much worn. The ladies had their silk robes, which, however, were not for daily wear.

In 1639 a law was passed against the "excessive wearing of lace and other superfluities tending to the nourishing of pride and exhausting of men's estates," and that "hereafter, no garment shall be made with short sleeves whereby the nakedness of the arme may be discovered; and such as have garments already made with short sleeves shell not hereafter wear the same unless they cover their arms to the wrist with linen or otherwise; and no person shall make any garment for women or any of their sex with sleeves more than half an ell wide; present reformation of immoderate great breeches, knots of ribbon, broad shoulder bands and vayles, silk roses, double ruffs and cuffes &c." was also enjoined.

Picturesqueness of costume went out with chivalry, and few things could be uglier than an Englishman of James II or William and Mary's days, except an Englishman of the modern tight and buttoned period. About the middle of the last century cocked hats, wigs, and cloaks of every variety of color, not excepting red, were worn. Sometimes the cape and collar were of velvet, and of a different color from the coat. In winter, round coats, made stiff with buckram and coming down to the knees in front, were worn. Boys wore wigs and cocked hats until about 1790. Powder was in use among gentlemen even later. Ebenezer Fox thus describes the dress of Obadiah Curtis, of Roxbury, in 1776: "He was habited according to the fashion of gentlemen of those days, in a three-cornered hat, a club wig, a long coat of ample dimensions, that appeared to have been made with reference to his future growth; breeches with huge knee buckles, and shoes fastened in the same manner."

At this period dress was much attended to by both sexes. The toilet of the ladies was elaborate, especially the hair, which was arranged on crape cushions so as to stand up high.

Sometimes ladies were dressed the day before a party, and slept in easy-chairs to keep their hair in condition. Hoops "of monstrous size" were indispensable in full dress.

Near the close of the last century the fashions, as well as the forms of society, underwent considerable changes in consequence of the French Revolution. Wigs began to disappear in France when Franklin appeared at the Court of Louis XVI in his own hair. Powder for the hair became unfashionable, wearing the hair tied was given up, and short hair became common. The round hat came in; resented at first by wearers of the old cocked hat, it notwithstanding soon gained headway. A loose dress for the lower limbs was adopted; colored garments went out of use, and dark or black were substituted; buckles disappeared.

Their poverty made simplicity of living a necessity, and any cooking which required sugar was too expensive for our early ancestors. For a century and a half the morning and evening repast consisted of boiled Indian meal and milk, or of porridge or broth made of pease and beans, dealt out in small wooden bowls, and flavored by being boiled with salted beef or pork. Hasty pudding and succotash were common articles of diet. Home-brewed beer was accounted a necessary of life, and the orchards soon yielded a bountiful supply of cider. Bread was made of "rye and Indian," instead of flour.

The noonday meal, despatched in fifteen minutes, began with Indian pudding, relished with a little molasses. Next came a piece of broiled salt pork with cabbage, or black broth, fried eggs, brown bread and cider. The dinner of "boiled victuals" was served in wooden trenchers. In their season they had melons, and for extra occasions a little cherry wine. The meat of the shagbark was dried and pounded and then put into their porridge to thicken it. The barley fire cake was served at breakfast. They parched corn and pounded it, and made it into a *nocake*. Baked pumpkins

were common. The extra dish for company was a cake made of strawberries and parched corn. There was in the beginning little butcher's meat, a want supplied to a considerable extent by game and fish. Baked beans, baked Indian pudding, and newly baked rye and Indian bread on Wednesday, and salt-fish regularly on Saturdays, are historical dishes, though gradually losing their hold.

Although potatoes were sent here as early as 1628 or 1629 for seed, they were not made an article of daily food until about the year 1800, when they took the place of turnips, which had previously been in common use. A writer in a Boston paper, more than a century ago, said, "In 1761 we began to plant the Spanish potato; corn, etc., being so scarce. 1762 and 1763 were years of scarcity, they would have been years of famine, had not this despised root been providentially brought among us." Indian corn, squashes, pumpkins, and sceva beans were indigenous. Tobacco, which was easily cultivated, was considered essential to health and comfort, and many can yet remember when every farmer had his tobacco-yard, as well as his cornfield. It was to him physic in sickness, and a comfort at all times. Most dishes were of pewter. Forks were hardly known in England before 1650, and silver forks first appeared in Boston after the war of 1812.

The first houses were of one story, with very steep roofs, mostly built either of clay and mud, or hewn logs, covered with poles and thatch. The chimneys, which were usually in the centre of the building, were commonly of rough stone and clay, or of pieces of wood placed crosswise, the interstices and outside covered with clay. The fireplaces, made of rough stone, were broad and deep, and were large enough for burning logs four feet long. They had huge fireplaces on either side of the entrance, and in the back kitchen. The hearths were large, with capacious ingles for a seat, from which gleamed the sky overhead. These houses usually contained

but one room, about twenty feet square. The roof may have been of shingles and boards, thatch having been prohibited in consequence of frequent conflagrations.

Not long after came frame buildings of two stories in front, sloping down to one in the rear. They almost without exception faced south. Frames, and often the planking and boards, were of heavy oak. The general room of the family was long and spacious, lighted on two sides, the others opening into the lean-to or shed. The windows, which were very small and opened on hinges, were sometimes of oiled paper or mica, but generally of diamond panes of glass, three or four inches broad, set in lead.

EARLY HOUSE.

Houses of the period of Philip's war, when of wood, had their second floors project a foot or two, that their occupants might, if molested, through openings for the purpose, fire or pour hot water upon their assailants. The houses of Col. Joseph Williams and of John Pierpont, of Roxbury, were of this description. Very few houses were painted, even at the close of the seventeenth century. The third period of New England architecture saw the advent of the gambrel roof, with dormer-windows similar to the mansard style. This prevailed until the period of the Revolution, after which came the Grecian, with columns in front, seen everywhere in our older villages.

The furnishing of even the more stately residences was usually plain and unpretending. The parlor contained a richly carved mahogany sideboard, perhaps, with sofa and chairs to match; a massive dining-table, and card-tables of quaint pattern; a fine large mirror, a tall Dutch or English clock with its works of brass; some pieces of silver plate, a set of

gennine china ware, and the ever-present punchbowl with its attendant decanter and goblets. Panelled wainscoting and ornamental cornices adorned the walls, which were also hung with imported paper. Painted Dutch tiles decorated the huge fireplaces, whose furniture was resplendent with shining brass. Silver or plated candlesticks adorned the mantel. The high four-post bedstead, with its lofty canopy, and the lace window-curtains that hung in folds, gave an air of splendor rather than of comfort to the chamber. With all their luxury, however, they lacked many of the comforts and conveniences that the poorest can now afford. Carpets were unknown.

In the ordinary farm-house the parlor was at once kitchen, bedroom, and hall; the "settle" or wooden settee took the place of the sofa; clean white sand served for a carpet; the sideboard, mirror, chairs, tables, and kitchen utensils were of a smaller or inferior sort, while the wooden clock did duty for the imported article. Candles of tallow dip afforded the only light, and candlesticks were more frequently of brass than even of plated ware. Domestic life in a New England agricultural community of the last century was simple, laborious, and economical.

Appliances to lessen household toil were few. From the excellent "History of Pittsfield" I quote as follows: "The cook must lift the huge iron pot which hung on the crane outswung before the blazing fire, and deposit and withdraw the baking in the deep brick oven with the long wrought-iron shovel. The laundress performed her task by pounding the soiled clothes in a barrel of water with a heavy pestle, even the fluted washing-board having not yet been invented. Water was to be drawn from the cistern or well by the most unaided process, the long well-sweep being the best mechanical assistance to be had. There were the unpainted floors to be scrubbed, and an excessively broad surface of wainscoting and other joiner work to be kept clean. And when all this

was done, came the spinning, the weaving, the brewing, the candle and soap making, and other toils now unknown to the housewife. With all this, and the large families of children which were almost always the rule, it is no wonder that the percentage of mortality among women was large, and that those who sustained themselves were accounted marvels of capability."

Some wealthy families had colored servants who were slaves; most households, however, had hired "help," American girls or men who lived on terms of equality with the family. The signatures of the principal slave-owners in Roxbury are attached to the following petition: —

"Roxbury, Feb. 23, 1739. Whereas it hath been too much the unhappy practise of the negro servants of this town to be abroad in the night at unseasonable hours to y^e^ great prejudice of many persons or familys as well as their respective masters, the petitioners pray that it may be prevented or punished.

| | |
|---|---|
| "Edward Ruggles. | John Willliams. |
| John Holbrook. | Ebenezer Weld. |
| James Jarvis. | Ebenezer Gore. |
| Noah Perin, Jr. | Thomas Baker. |
| Ebenezer Dorr. | Jonathan Seaver. |
| Nathaniel Brewer. | Joseph Williams." |

Titles were formerly matters of grave importance. A very few of the best condition, including ministers and their wives, had the Mr. or Mrs. prefixed to their names. All militia officers, from generals to corporals, received their appropriate titles. Goodman and goodwife were applied to the middle class above the condition of servants and below that of gentility.

Up to the period of the French Revolution there were distinctions in society now unknown. Persons in office, the rich, and those who had connections in England of which they were proud, were the gentry of the country. Modes of life, manners, and personal decoration were the outward

indications of this superiority. The commencement of hostilities in 1775 drove a large portion of these gentry from the country, but these indications continued among some who remained and adhered to the patriot side. Those who held considerable landed estates, and who were the gentry of the interior, were the great men in their respective counties, held civil and military office, and were members of the General Court. This sort of personal dignity disappeared before the end of the last century.

To secure universal attendance upon public meetings and even to the week-day lectures, innkeepers and victualers within one mile of the meeting-house to which they belonged had to clear their houses of all persons able to go to meeting during the time of the exercises except for some extraordinary cause. Violations of the Sabbath were made penal; children playing in the streets, youths, maids, and other persons "uncivilly" walking in the streets and fields, travelling from town to town, going on shipboard, frequenting common houses and other places to drink, sport, or otherwise to misspend their time, travelling out of one's own town upon the Lord's day, either on horseback, on foot, or by boat to any unlawful assembly or meeting, were all strictly forbidden. As late as 1772, Nathaniel Seaver, of Roxbury, was fined for non-attendance at church. His fine was, however, remitted upon his promise to attend public worship in future.

For "the evil practices of sundry persons by exorbitancy of the tongue in railing and scolding," the offender was to be gagged, or set in a ducking-stool and "dipped over head and ears three times in some convenient place of fresh or salt water as the court or magistrate should judge meet." All persons were forbidden even to possess cards, dice, or other gambling utensils. One prevalent form of gambling, the lottery, though prohibited by statute, was yet sanctioned by the practice of both church and state. Dancing was also prohibited.

As there was little coin in the country, most of that brought over speedily returning to England in payment for necessary supplies, Indian corn and beaver-skins were in primitive use as money; corn and other products, at fixed rates, being received in payment of taxes and in ordinary pecuniary transactions. The prices at which various kinds of grain should pass current required constant revision at town-meeting. In 1667, the town voted, "That corn, amongst ourselves, shall pass current and be paid and received from man to man, — corn, 3*s.*; pease, 2*s.* 8*d.*; barley and malt, 4*s.* 6*d.*; rye, 4*s.*" The first traffic with the Indians was by barter, to which succeeded the use of wampum. Want of silver for a circulating medium led the colony in 1652 to usurp a right belonging only to sovereign states, — that of coining money. In that year it authorized John Hull to establish a mint, in which were coined silver pieces, the largest of which is known by its device as the "Pine-Tree" shilling. It is said that Hannah Hull's dowry consisted of as many of these coins as would outweigh the fair damsel in the scales.

PINE-TREE SIXPENCE.

PINE-TREE SHILLING.

A comparison of the present prices for the ordinary articles of domestic consumption, such as food and fuel, with those in a schedule of 1698, shows that an ounce of silver coin would at that time purchase twice and a half or three times as much as it will at present. Articles of clothing were then much dearer than they now are, yet, when we take into consideration the difference in the habits of society, we shall find that the expenses of dress were then much less than they

now are. This is seen in the bequests of deceased persons, a lady's dress in those days frequently adorning more than one generation.

The social usages and manners of to-day are in marked contrast with those that prevailed a century ago. The moral and intellectual condition of society is greatly improved. There is a greater variety of occupation. One change of incalculable value is the freer and more friendly intercourse of parents with their children. With increased means the style of living has acquired more of elegance and refinement. Social intercourse is, however, less interesting and less cordial than heretofore. One cannot avoid asking why this is, and what has been gained by the change. Marriages and funerals were occurrences of much more ceremony than at present. The bride was visited daily for four successive weeks. Public notice was given of funerals, and private invitations also. Attendance was expected, and there was a long train of followers, and all the carriages and chaises that could be had. Drinking punch in the forenoon in public houses was the common practice. Wine was little used, convivial parties drinking punch or toddy. Young men at their entertainments sat long and drank deep, compared with the present custom. The punch-bowl, generally of china, was for a long time, and until the year 1800, common in families of means. It usually held a gallon, and the beverage it contained was a customary treat for company and a prolific source of the gout. The use of ardent spirits was almost universal, their abuse very common. They were offered upon all occasions, ceremonial or social,— a call, a trade, a wedding, birth or funeral, a church dedication, — and to refuse was considered an affront.

A further illustration of the customs of our fathers two centuries ago is seen in the following extract from the indenture of an apprentice whom Samuel Williams, of Roxbury, and his wife, Theoda, engage to teach the "art, trade, mis-

tery, and science" of a shoemaker, agreeing also to teach him to "wright": —

"The said Joseph shall truly and faithfully serue, his Counsels lawful and honest obay, his seacretts shall keep, hurt to his master he shall not doe nor consent to be done, at unlawful games he shall not play, nor from his masters buisnes absent himselfe by night or day, his masters goods he shall not wast nor imbezzell, nor them lend without his masters Consent. Taverns and ale Howses he shall not frequent, except about his masters business there to be done but as a true and faithful seruant ought to behave himselfe in word and deed during the said terme . . . . and at the end of six years to give their said apprentice doubell apparell, one suit for the Lord's day and one suit for the working days meet an comely for one of his degree and calling."

## CHAPTER III.

### THE NECK TO THE BURYING-GROUND.

The Neck. — Dangers. — Paving. — Executions. — Salt-Works. — Gen. Palmer. — Fortifications. — Cannon secreted. — Siege begun. — Fugitives from Boston. — Roxbury Lines. — Rufus Putnam. — Brown's House burnt. — John Crane. — Roxbury Street. — Boston evacuated. — Losses. — French troops in Roxbury. — George Tavern. — Washington's Visit.

A NARROW strip of land, a mile in length, originally connected the peninsula of Boston with the mainland, and was the only avenue of communication between town and country for more than a century and a half. From the site of the old fortification at Dover Street, its narrowest point, it gradually expanded, until at the line of Roxbury it attained a width of about half a mile.

Laid out as a street in 1794, the Neck from Dover Street to the line measured one mile and thirty-nine yards. The name, Washington Street, given it after the President's visit in 1789, and applied only to that part of the highway, was in 1834 extended over Orange, Newbury, Marlborough, and Cornhill, the streets north of it, and over Roxbury Street to the Worcester turnpike on the south. Washington Street, which now includes Shawmut Avenue, formerly the Dedham turnpike, is perhaps the longest in the world, as it bears that name over a continuous line of road as far as the city of Providence, a distance of forty-four miles. In 1855 it was widened from the burying-ground to Warren Street.

The Neck, as it has always been called, was once covered with trees, as various entries in the old records show. Those of Boston, under date of March 23, 1635, say: —

"Brother Wileboare to see to y^e^ gate and style next unto Roxburie: and whereas y^e^ wood upon y^e^ Neck of land towards Roxburie hath this last winter been disorderly cutt up and wasted, whereby many of y^e^ poor inhabitants are disappointed of reliefe, they might have had there in after and needfull tymes therefore it is agreed y^e^ treasurer, Mr. Bellingham, and Mr. Wm. Hutchinson with the 3 deacons shall consider who have been faultie herein, and sett down what restitution of wood unto the poor such shall make."

In the season of full tides portions of the Neck were covered with water, rendering it almost impassable in the spring, especially before its centre was paved, and when from necessity this was ultimately done, the stones were so large that the pavement was shunned by vehicles as long as the outer margin of the road was practicable. For its protection a dike was built on the exposed eastern side, following in its general direction the extension of Harrison Avenue, and a sea wall was at the same time built on the west side, from Dover nearly to Waltham Street.

The appearance of this avenue sixty years ago was desolate and forbidding enough. It is not easy for those who now traverse this broad, well-paved thoroughfare, with its handsome parks, its elegant and substantial buildings, its street cars, omnibuses, private equipages, and thronged sidewalks, to realize that travellers frequently lost their way over the narrow pass and adjacent marshes, and that it was the scene of frequent robberies. So dangerous had it become that, in 1723, it was fenced in by order of the General Court.

Winthrop tells us in his "Journal" that "in 1639 one of Roxbury sending to Boston his servant maid for a barber chirurgeon to draw his tooth, they lost their way in their passage between, during a violent snowstorm, and were not found until many days after, and then the maid was found in one place, and the man in another, both frozen to death." Less than a century ago a countryman, with his team, perished here in a similar manner.

In 1641 the town of Roxbury was "enjoyned" to make a sufficient way between the burying-place and the gate. Boston, in March, 1650, agreed with Peter Oliver, for £15 per annum for seven years, "To maintaine the High Wayes from Jacob Eliots Barne to the fardest gate bye Roxsbery Towns end to be sufficient for Carte and horse, to the satisfaction of the Countrye." In 1757 the General Court authorized the town to raise £2,000 by a lottery towards paving and repairing the Neck, and next year another was authorized to raise funds for paving the highway from Boston line to Meeting-House Hill in Roxbury. Notwithstanding the act of 1719 for their suppression as common and public nuisances, lotteries continued for a long time to be resorted to as a means of raising money for public works. The whole of the Neck was paved under the mayoralty of Josiah Quincy, the Roxbury portion of it in 1824. In the old times the sidewalk in Roxbury Street was paved with cobble-stones, a narrow brick walk occupying the centre of it.

The marshes bordering the Neck were covered at high tide, and being a favorite resort for birds, were much frequented by sportsmen. As early as 1713 the town of Roxbury prohibited gunning on the Neck, and in 1785 was obliged to place sentinels there to prevent this desecration of the Sabbath. The practice continued until a much later period. Sir Charles and Lady Frankland narrowly escaped being shot while journeying along this highway.

Upon the Neck proper only three small houses and two barns survived the siege. Between Dover Street and Roxbury line there were but eighteen buildings in 1794. In 1800 there were but one or two houses from the site of the new Catholic Cathedral to Roxbury.

The custom, formerly so much in vogue here, of building houses end to the street, recalls a description of Albany and of one of the peculiarities of its inhabitants from an old Gazetteer, that may well provoke a smile. Says Dr. Morse:

"This city in 1797 contained 863 dwelling-houses and 6021 inhabitants. Many of them are in the Gothic style with the gable end to the street, which custom the first settlers brought from Holland."

A gallows that once stood near the old fortifications, and subsequently upon the site now occupied by the St. James Hotel, was the first object that met the eye of the stranger journeying by land to Boston. This fact reminds one of the exclamation of the shipwrecked sailor, who on beholding this relic of barbarism, thanked God that he had been cast ashore in a civilized country! After all, it must be admitted that for this particular mode of capital punishment the "Neck" was a peculiarly appropriate place.

Some pirates were executed here in 1819. When the Stamp Act went into operation on Nov. 1, 1765, effigies of Grenville and Huske, promoters of the obnoxious measure, were taken from the liberty tree and suspended here. Apropos of the Stamp Act, about which the people were greatly excited, a story is told of a gentleman who after dark sent his servant to the barn. Returning without having done his errand, on being questioned he replied that he was afraid. "Afraid of what?" said the gentleman. "I was afraid of the Stamp Act," was the reply.

As Dr. Warren was one day passing this spot he met some British officers, one of whom remarked, "Go on, Warren, you will soon come to the gallows." Warren immediately turned back and demanded to know which of them had thus addressed him, but neither of these heroes had the courage to avow the insult.

The manufacture of bricks and of salt was formerly carried on upon the marshes and upland along the causeway. In December, 1644, liberty was "graunted to Jasper Rawlines to make use of a rood of upland for the making of brickes at the easterne end of Sargeant Hues his corne field neere Rocksbury gate." Many of the poor people of Boston pursued this occupation here while the Port Bill was in force.

Salt, another of the industries of this locality, was also made near the "Town Landing," though the "Salt Pans," established at a very early day, were nearer Dorchester. After the close of the Revolution, Gen. Joseph Palmer settled in Roxbury, and established salt-works on Boston Neck. He had just completed extensive works for this purpose, for which he had built a dam on the east side of the Neck, when he discovered that the frost had strengthened the brine, and that the ice formed upon it was perfectly fresh. Elated by his discovery, he walked into Boston on one of the coldest days of the winter to make known his success to Gov. Bowdoin, an intimate friend and a subscriber to the project, and returning to Roxbury that night after sunset, incautiously sat down by a warm fire. It was soon perceived that he could neither speak nor move. He was struck with palsy, and died at his residence in Roxbury, on Dec. 25, 1788, at the age of seventy, leaving as a visible memorial only the dam on Boston Neck.

Gen. Palmer, who was a native of England, came to America in 1746 with Richard Cranch, and settled in that part of Braintree called Germantown, where he became a leading and influential citizen, and acquired a considerable estate. His is one of the most prominent names in the Revolutionary annals of the State, outside of Boston. He was conspicuous among the patriotic members of the Provincial Congresses of 1774 and 1775, and of the Committee of Safety, and as a brigadier-general of the State forces, took part in the expedition to Rhode Island in 1778. He lost all his property during the war.

One of the first cares of the colonists was to take precautions against Indian attacks. Gov. Winthrop and other influential men in December, 1630, projected the building of a fortified town upon the Neck, between Roxbury and Boston. After surveying the ground, however, they decided to change their plan, and fixed upon Newtown, now Cambridge, as the

site of the proposed town. Their reasons for so doing are thus stated by Winthrop: —

"Because men would be forced to keep two families.

"There was no running water, and if there were any springs they would not suffice the town.

"The most part of the people had built already, and would not be able to build again."

These considerations did not, however, prevent their taking advantage of a place naturally so eligible for a defensive work.

"We began a Court of Guard," says Winthrop, under date of April 14, 1631, "upon the Neck between Roxbury and Boston, whereupon should be always resident an officer and six men." The gates of this primitive barrier, erected at the narrowest part of the Neck, and which had disappeared by the end of the century, were constantly guarded, and were shut by a certain hour in the evening, after which none were allowed to pass in or out. In 1710 fortifications were constructed, with foundations of brick and stone, upon the site of the old ones, having a parapet of earth, with embrasures for cannon upon the front and flank, and a deep ditch on the side towards Roxbury. There were two gates, one for carriages and one for foot-passengers.

In September, 1774, affairs began to look serious, and Gage, the royal governor, proceeded to strengthen the old and to erect new works in advance of them, digging a deep fosse into which the tide flowed at high water in front of the former, severing Boston for the time from the mainland. While this work was going on, the people, whose curiosity led them to watch its progress, would speak slightingly of it, and say, "Gage's mud walls are nothing to old Louisburg, and, if necessary, would be no more regarded than a beaver's dam." The recollection of that remarkable achievement caused them to depreciate this comparatively slight barrier; but the skill of Montresor, Gage's engineer, soon made it formidable enough

to deter the Americans from attempting an assault, which could hardly have ended otherwise than in failure.

The Dover Street work was called the "Green Store Battery," the warehouse then standing on the site of the Williams Market being of that color. Excavations just south of the market, in 1860, revealed what appeared to be the remains of this old fort. The position of the advanced work, which was much the stronger, was between Dedham and Canton Streets, a point from which the first unobstructed view in front is obtained as far as Roxbury. It mounted twenty guns of heavy calibre, besides six howitzers and a mortar battery. The redan was flanked by a bastion on each side of the highway, from which the lines were continued across to the marshes. The road passed through the centre of both lines, the first having a gate and drawbridge. A third and smaller work, lying between the others, on the eastern sea-margin, bore on Dorchester Neck (South Boston), and took the left curtain and bastion of the main work in reverse. After the siege the works were demolished, in order that they might not be available to the enemy should he again obtain possession of the town. Vestiges of them were visible as late as 1822, particularly on the west side.

GEN. GAGE.

Just one month before the siege began, a committee of the Provincial Congress on "the present state of the operations of the British army" reported: —

"That two mud breastworks have been erected by them on Boston Neck at the distance of about 90 or 100 rods in front of the old fortifications, the works well constructed and well executed. The thickness of the merlons or parapet about 9 feet, the height about 8 feet, the width of the ditch at the top about 12 feet, at the bottom 5 feet, the depth 10 feet. These works are already completed and at present mounted with 10 brass and 2 iron cannon. A barrack is erecting behind the breastwork on the N. side of the Neck."

"The old fortification at the entrance of the town of Boston is repairing and greatly strengthened by the addition of timber and earth to the walls of the thickness of about 12 feet. These works are in considerable forwardness, and at present 10 pieces of iron cannon are mounted on the old platforms. A blockhouse brought from Governor's Island is erecting on the S. side of the Neck at the distance of about 40 or 50 rods from the old fortification. This work is but just begun."

Under date of May 1, just after the siege opened, a British officer wrote in his diary, "Great additions are made to the Neck; on the right flank of the right bastion are mounted four guns, and on the left of the left bastion, two mortars; at the lines the curtain is closed up to the road, where there is a traverse with two guns which can play right up the town of Roxbury."

A plan of these works being desired at headquarters, John Trumbull, adjutant of Spencer's Connecticut regiment, afterwards celebrated as an historical painter, undertook to obtain one. He says: —

"I began the attempt by creeping (under the concealment of high grass) so nigh that I could ascertain that the work consisted of a curtain crossing the entrance to the town, flanked by two bastions, and I had ascertained the number of guns mounted on the eastern bastion, when my farther progress was rendered unnecessary by a deserter, who brought with him a rude plan of the entire work. My drawing was also shown to the General, and their correspondence proved that as far as I had gone I was correct."

Trumbull was soon after placed upon Washington's staff as an *aide-de-camp*.

Various were the devices by which, as the day of conflict approached, the country people supplied themselves with arms and ammunition from Boston, spite of the vigilance of its garrison. Through the British lines there came one day, it is said, a funeral *cortège*. In the hearse was borne, not one of the victims of the grim conqueror, Death, but one of his terrible engines, — a cannon. George Minot, a Dorchester farmer, who from his frequent visits was well known to the guard, was allowed to pass without examination, his panniers well filled with powder.

The cannon belonging to Paddock's company of artillery, which by a clever stratagem had been taken from the gun-house and secreted, were safely brought through the British lines, two of them by Minot, who hid them under a compost heap at Col. Lemuel Robinson's tavern, near the Lower Mills, in Dorchester, and the other two by Jonathan Parker, of Roxbury, who deposited them in Muddy Pond Woods. The next day a company of redcoats were at Jamaica Plain, searching for the missing cannon. This company was part of a battalion of five hundred men who were scattered in various directions for the same purpose with no better success. Of these four historic guns, two were taken at Bunker's Hill by the enemy, the other two, the "Hancock" and the "Adams," did good service at the Roxbury lines and elsewhere, and are now in the chamber at the top of Bunker's Hill Monument, and are appropriately inscribed.

The diary of John Andrews, a merchant of Boston, afterwards a resident of Jamaica Plain, furnishes some interesting items: —

"Sept. 8, 1774. Yesterday the General, with a large party of attendants, took a survey of the skirts of the town, more particularly that part opposite the country shore. 'T is supposed he intends to erect batteries there to prevent incursions of the country people

from that quarter, having effectually secured the Neck by the disposition of the field-pieces, and their caution extends so far as to have a guard patrol Roxbury streets at all hours of the night."

"Sept. 29. In the course of a day or two past the Roxbury people have burnt several loads of straw that were being brought here, which has enraged the soldiers to such a degree that I am in continual apprehension we shall soon experience another 5th of March, which God forbid!

"April 11, 1775. We are all in confusion at present; the streets and Neck lined with wagons carrying off the effects of the inhabitants, who are either afraid, mad, crazy, or infatuated, imagining to themselves that they shall be liable to every evil that can be enumerated if they tarry in town."

No wonder the more prudent or timid among the townspeople should, upon the eve of the breaking out of a seven years' war, have taken the alarm and quitted a place where the first blow was so soon to be struck.

Intelligence of the intended expedition to Lexington on the 19th of April was conveyed over the Neck to Roxbury on the previous evening by William Dawes, who was mounted on a slow-jogging horse, with saddle-bags behind him, and a large flapped hat upon his head to resemble a countryman on a journey. Col. Josiah Waters, of Boston, a stanch Whig, and who afterwards, as engineer, assisted in building the forts at Roxbury, followed on foot on the sidewalk at a short distance from him until he saw him safely past all the sentinels.

Communication between town and country was entirely stopped two days after the affair at Lexington, no one being allowed to go in or out without a pass. "The provincials," says a letter-writer in Boston, under date of April 24, "are entrenching themselves at Roxbury within gunshot of the works on the Neck, and erecting batteries to play on the lines."

One of the sad sights of the early days of the siege was the spectacle of the poor people of Boston quitting the town, as

many of them did, under an agreement with Gen. Gage, after depositing their arms in Faneuil Hall, and promising not to join in an attack on his troops. For the brief period during which this agreement was in force, especially during the last week in April, the road to Roxbury was thronged with wagons and trains of wretched exiles. Parents wandered forth "with bundles in one hand and a string of children in the other." They were not allowed to take with them any provisions, and nothing could be more affecting than to see these helpless families come out without anything to eat. The sentinels on the Neck even took away the gingerbread from the little children. "It's a distressing thing," wrote a British officer in his diary, "to see them, for half of 'em don't know where to go, and in all probability must starve." The Provincial Congress took measures for distributing five thousand of them among the villages in the interior, where they were hospitably received. An old-fashioned bureau, a memento of this hegira, is in the possession of Mrs. Edwin Lemist, of Roxbury, a descendant of Edward Dorr, an early resident of the town.

The grandmother of the Rev. Frederick T. Gray, Mrs. Mary Turell, whose maiden name was Morey, a native of Roxbury and one of the fugitives from Boston, gave her personal experience as follows: —

"When the town was shut up there were no passes given but to particular people, and they were to be searched upon leaving town. I requested a pass from Major Pitcairn for myself and eight in family, with my horse and chaise, which was readily granted by having my trunks looked into in my own house by one of his officers by the name of Blackwood. By this means I carried out Deacon Jeffries, who was town treasurer, and who had all the donation money for the support of the poor, which I carried in my chaise-box with Mrs. Jeffries and myself. Mrs. Eckley and Miss Caty Jeffries also went with me in my chaise. Pitcairn and Mr. Turell went to the outside guards with us, where we were received by Generals Heath and Spencer, who were quite rejoiced to see Deacon Jeffries with the donation money, and rewarded me handsomely by sending my letters and allowing me every indulgence I could expect."

The final advanced line of the American works crossed the highway a little south of Northampton Street, about one hundred and fifty yards in front of those first constructed, near the George Tavern. The latter crowned the rising ground near Clifton Place, just north of the old boundary line between Boston and Roxbury, a little south of the George Tavern, and were erected immediately after the Bunker's Hill battle. The former, which were connected by earthworks and abatis with the Lamb's Dam redoubt, near the present lead-works on the east, and similarly round the curved shore line to some elevated ground at the corner of what is now Sumner Place and Cabot Street, where there was a battery on the west side of the highway, was completed early in September. The trees in Edward Sumner's orchard covering the latter, and of Dr. Thomas Williams, occupying the former locality, were cut down and pointed, and so placed as to protect those points exposed to attack. Five hundred men and officers constituted the main and picket guard for this line.

Of the importance attached to this last work, the letters and diaries of the time afford ample proof. Col. Huntington writes as follows to Gov. Trumbull: "*Roxbury Camp, Sept. 6, 1775.* — We are this night making approaches towards our enemies on the Neck, and expect they will show their resentment. *Thursday morning.* — Three separate entrenchments were thrown up last night, which will cover our out sentries and advanced right parties. — no opposition made." Another, under date of Sept. 10, writes, "What is more amazing, though nevertheless true, is, they [the enemy] have suffered our men to throw up an entrenchment below the George Tavern, and within musket-shot of their last entrenchment, and have scarce honored us with a cannon."

For the two months succeeding the Lexington engagement, little intrenching was done by the Americans, who were sadly deficient in competent engineers. Bunker's Hill demon-

strated the value of defensive works, and under the direction of Col. Rufus Putnam, aided by Henry Knox and Josiah Waters, the Roxbury lines, considered marvels of strength in those days, grew rapidly, until at length a complete series of redoubts and batteries protected every exposed point from Dorchester to Brookline. The American militia-man manifested a degree of skill and activity in constructing fieldworks that was a constant surprise to the veteran European soldiers of former wars.

Rufus Putnam, the constructor of these works, was by trade a millwright, whose only experience in military engineering had been acquired in the campaigns of 1757–60 in Canada, which resulted in its becoming a province of the British Empire. The fortifying of Dorchester Heights in a single winter's night, under his direction, compelled the British fleet and army to hurriedly evacuate Boston, and successfully terminated its siege. Washington afterwards wrote to Congress that the Yankee millwright was altogether a more competent officer than the educated foreigners to whom it had given appointments in that line. He attained the grade of brigadier-general, and after the war was over founded Marietta, Ohio, the first permanent settlement of the eastern part of the Northwest Territory.

Washington was of the opinion that in case of an attack there was an insufficient number of men to man the entire works, which it must be borne in mind were eight or nine miles in extent. At the first council of war, held at headquarters on the 9th of July, it was, however, unanimously determined to defend the posts. It was further agreed that if the troops should be attacked and routed by the enemy, the place of rendezvous should be Weld's Hill, in the rear of the Roxbury lines. This hill, erroneously called Wales's Hill, by Mr. Sparks and others, is the high eminence on what was the Bussey farm. This point covered the road to Dedham, where the army supplies were stored.

The space between the American and British works, a distance of about eight hundred yards, was frequently the arena of conflict between the artillerists of the opposing forces, and at times cannon-balls flew thick and fast over it. This interchange of compliments was somewhat one-sided, the scarcity of powder in the American camp placing it in the condition of a man with little money in his pocket, who will do twenty mean things to avoid breaking in upon his little stock. The hostile pickets, covered by slight intrenchments, were only about two hundred and fifty yards apart, quite near enough to converse freely with each other, and to count the reliefs on both sides as they marched down from their respective camps, the limited space between being nearly coincident with that from the site of the Commonwealth Hotel to the squares.

Enoch Brown's house and shop, on the west side of the highway, between Blackstone Square and Rutland Street, deserves mention as the scene of the only hostile encounter that has ever taken place within the original limits of Boston. It was here that Burgoyne proposed to meet his old companion in arms, Charles Lee, to discuss the issues of the day. The meeting did not take place. Lee was willing, but Congress quietly interposed its veto. Until their destruction, these buildings served the British as an outpost whence the American camp could be overlooked and its pickets greatly annoyed. Their chimneys were left standing, and continued to serve them as a cover.

A letter from camp informs us that —

"On July 8, 1775, two hundred volunteers from the Rhode Island and Massachusetts forces, under Majors Tupper and Crane, attacked the British advanced guard at Brown's house on the Neck, within three hundred yards of their principal works. They detached six men about ten o'clock in the evening, with orders to cross on a marsh up to the rear of the guard-house and there to watch an opportunity to fire it. The remainder secreted themselves in the marsh on each side of the Neck, about two hundred yards

from the house. Two brass pieces were drawn softly on the marsh within three hundred yards, and upon a signal from the advanced party of six, two rounds of cannon shot were fired through the guard-house. Immediately the regulars, who formed a guard of forty-five or fifty men, quitted the house and were then fired on by the musketry, who drove them with precipitation into their lines. The six men posted near the house set fire to it and burned it to the ground. After this, they burnt another house nearer the lines, and withdrew without losing a man."

"A brave action this, and well performed," wrote young Henry Knox to his wife from the American camp.

The artillery of this key to the Roxbury lines was commanded by John Crane, who afterwards succeeded Knox as colonel of the Massachusetts regiment of artillery, and served with distinction throughout the entire contest. A Boston mechanic and one of those who threw the tea overboard, a chest of tea, that fell upon his head, wellnigh ended his career. His comrades bore his body to a neighboring building, where, covering him with shavings, they left him for dead, but he speedily recovered. The Port Bill drove him with many others from the town, and when the struggle for liberty began he was pursuing his business of a housewright at Providence, in company with Ebenezer Stevens, another Bostonian, also celebrated as an artillery officer in the Revolutionary war.

Educated in the school that furnished so many excellent officers of artillery to the army, Paddock's company of the "train," as it was called, and full of zeal for the liberties of his country, he immediately raised a company with the aid of Stevens, and with the commission of major of the Rhode Island "Train," joined Thomas's forces at Roxbury, in May, 1775, with a well-equipped and efficient battery.

Crane was in his element whenever the state of the powder supply would admit of a little artillery practice. So wonderfully keen was his vision, that from the instant the ball left the cannon, and until it reached its destination, his eye fol-

lowed it, and his skill as a marksman was felt and acknowledged by the enemy. Crane with his cannon, and Morgan with his rifles, made it advisable for the redcoats to keep well under cover. The fire of the British, on the other hand, was comparatively harmless. A distinguished officer in Boston, writing to a friend in England, says, "The rebel army is not brave. I believe, but it is agreed on all hands that their artillery officers are at least equal to ours."

A graphic picture of the appearance of the lines when visited on Oct. 20, 1775, is given by the historian Belknap in his diary. He says: —

"Nothing struck me with more horror than the present condition of Roxbury. That once busy, crowded street is now occupied only by a picket-guard. The houses are deserted, the windows taken out, and many shot-holes visible. Some have been burnt, and others pulled down to make room for the fortifications. A wall of earth is carried across the street to Williams's old house, where there is a formidable fort mounted with cannon. The lower line is just below where the George Tavern stood; a row of trees, root and branch, lie across the road there, and the breastwork extends to Lamb's Dam, which makes a part thereof. I went round the whole, and was so near the enemy as to see them, though it was foggy and rainy, relieve their sentinels, which they do every hour. The outmost sentries are posted at the chimneys of Brown's house."

It may be supposed that the British officers, cooped up within the narrow limits of the town of Boston, would find their situation exceedingly irksome, and ardently long for a change. Accordingly, when Major Benjamin Tupper, of Fellows's regiment, had an interview with some of them in the month of August within their lines, liquor was sent for, and every toast given by Major Urquhart and the other officers present expressed the wish that an end might be put to the quarrel. At the same time they informed him that they were soon coming out. In reply, the major assured them that we were ready, and that if they would only give us notice, we would meet them with an equal number of men. Capt. Judah

Alden, who accompanied Col. Learned to the British outposts with a flag some time afterwards, inquired of the officer in command why they did not come out and make the troops at Roxbury a visit. "Ah," replied he, "we should have to think of that some time first."

Not the least interesting of the events connected with this locality occurred on the afternoon of March 17, 1776. The occupation of Dorchester Heights, a movement as skilfully executed as it was carefully planned, having compelled the immediate evacuation of the town, a detachment of Americans under Col. Ebenezer Learned, who commanded at the outposts during nearly the whole of the siege, picked its way through the crows' feet and other obstacles thickly strewn in its path, and unbarring the gates of the deserted stronghold, displayed for the first time in the streets of Boston the grand union flag of the thirteen United Colonies. The flag was borne by Ensign Richards, and the troops were accompanied by Gen. Ward.

UNION FLAG.

With what emotions of pride and satisfaction must these patriotic citizens, albeit clad in homespun and unattended by "the pomp and circumstance of glorious war," have marched into the town as conquerors! It was a proud day for them, and never since then has its soil been pressed by a hostile foot.

"I took a ride last week and ventured as far as the stump of Liberty Tree," wrote Mrs. John Adams to her husband a month later. "Roxbury," she continues, "looks more injured than Boston, that is, the houses look more torn to pieces. I was astonished at the extent of our lines and their strength."

An estimate of the losses sustained by the people of Roxbury in 1775, made by the selectmen and Committee of Cor-

respondence, foots up £24,412 5s. 4d., quite a sum in those days. It was shared among some two hundred individuals, about forty of whom were damaged to the extent of £300 and upward. The principal sufferers were the heirs of Capt. Aaron Davis, Dr. Thomas Williams, heirs of Major Joseph Dudley, Dr. Jonathan Davies, Increase Sumner, Col. Aaron Davis, Joshua Lamb Woodbridge, heirs of Joseph Weld, Stephen Williams, tanner, William Bowman, Ebenezer Dorr, Nathaniel Felton, William Dudley, and Robert Pierpont, Esq. Most of the injuries were inflicted by the besiegers; houses, fences, orchards, and wood-lots, as well as growing crops, having been destroyed.

LIBERTY TREE

Another military display of a more attractive character enlivened the scene a few years later, when, in December, 1782, the army of Rochambeau marched into Boston, where it was to embark for France. Before entering the town the troops changed their dress in the open air, and appeared in such excellent attire that it seemed incredible that this army, coming from Yorktown, Virginia, could have travelled so many hundred leagues, exposed to the inclemency of a rainy autumn and of a premature winter.

Though it was late in December the skies were propitious, as these gallant Frenchmen, accompanied by a full band, marched through Roxbury and over the Neck. At their head was the brave Vioménil, who ten years later sacrificed his life in defence of his king, in the attack on the Tuileries. With

him came Berthier, afterwards Napoleon's adjutant-general, and one of his marshals; Matthieu Dumas, a distinguished soldier, and a general of division at Waterloo; Isidore de Lynch, an intrepid Irishman, afterwards a general; Montesquieu, grandson of the author of "L'Esprit des Lois"; Carra St. Cyr, Des Prez de Crassier, Alexander de Lameth, Langeron, Anselme, and others who attained distinction in the wars of the French Revolution. The officers wore chapeaux with a white cockade, a uniform of white broadcloth faced with red, green, or blue, according to the corps to which they belonged, and high military boots; the general had on a blue overdress faced with red. All were splendidly mounted and wore elegant and costly equipments.

First marched the regiment Royal Deuxponts, dressed in white, led by Count Christian de Deuxponts, the same who afterward commanded the Bavarians at Hohenlinden. The colonel *proprietaire* of this, the largest of the French regiments, was Maximilian de Deuxponts, afterwards Maximilian I, King of Bavaria, who, though he had been with his regiment in America, had already returned to Europe.

Next came the Soissonnais, under its second colonel, Count Segur, son of the Minister of War. Its colonel, Felix de St. Maime, had preceded it to Boston. The brave Vicomte de Noailles had commanded the regiment at Yorktown. Saintonge, in white and green, follows, with Count Custine and Prince de Broglie, first and second in command, both victims of the guillotine. Custine in 1792 commanded the Army of the North.

Last came the Bourbonnais, in black and red, under De Laval Montmorenci, and the infantry of Lauzun. The artillery, though not with the column, were attired in blue with red facings, white spatterdashes, and red pompons. The men wore short Roman swords, and carried their firelocks by their slings. Among them might have been seen a young sergeant named Charles Pichegru, whose subsequent career is

matter of history. The infantry wore cocked hats with pompons, woollen epaulets, white crossbelts from which were suspended a short hanger and cartouche-box, and spatterdashes; the hair was worn *en queue*.

"No review or parade," says Ségur in his Memoirs, "ever displayed troops in better order, offering an appearance at once more neat and brilliant. A great part of the population of the town came out to meet us. The ladies stood at their windows and welcomed us with evident applause, and our stay was marked by continual rejoicings, by feasts and balls, which succeeded each other day after day."

President Monroe, accompanied by Com. Bainbridge, Gen. Miller, Mr. Mason, his secretary, and his suite, and followed by Gen. Crane and the officers of the First Division, and a number of citizens of Norfolk County, on horseback, was escorted from Dedham to Roxbury, on July 1, 1817. After reviewing the infantry regiment of Col. Dudley, and Maj. Gale's battery of artillery, he proceeded to the Boston line. Since then Presidents Jackson, Tyler, and Fillmore, Lafayette, and Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, have been formally received here by the town or city authorities. President John Adams, while on a visit to Quincy, in August, 1797, was escorted through the town by a military and civic procession, stopping on his way at Gov. Sumner's residence, the occasion being a splendid entertainment given him by citizens of Boston.

The George, or as it was sometimes called the St. George Tavern, the first American advanced post, was part of an estate of twenty acres, extending to Roxbury line on the south and across the marshes to the great creek which formed its western boundary. It had orchards, gardens, and a site commanding a view of Boston and its harbor on one side, and Cambridge Bay with the shore of the mainland on the other. This tavern was in 1721 the place of meeting of the General Court, probably on account of the prevalence of

small-pox in Boston. In 1730, while it was kept by Simon Rogers, the Probate Court was held there. Samuel Mears, whose daughter Catharine became the wife of the Rev. Samuel Dexter, was at one time its landlord. Their grandson, Samuel Dexter, one of the ablest lawyers of his time, and a member of President Adams's Cabinet, was some time a resident of Roxbury. Gen. John Thomas stopped at Mears's on his way from Marshfield, to join Winslow's expedition against Annapolis Royal, in April, 1755. Edward Bardin, who kept the "George" in 1769, changed its name to the "King's Arms," a title soon dropped.

This tavern was burned by the enemy on the night of Sunday, July 30, 1775, in retaliation for the destruction of Brown's House a few weeks before. A public house on or near its site was in 1788 opened by Sally Barton, but was not of long continuance. In its yard bullbaits were a common spectacle.

Hither Washington often came to inspect the outposts, accompanied by his staff, composed of men afterward famous: Mifflin, subsequently governor of Pennsylvania and president of Congress; Joseph Reed, his secretary, a true patriot, and who also became the chief magistrate of that great State; and Horatio Gates, whose military experience fitted him admirably for his post of adjutant-general, and rendered him highly serviceable in organizing the patriot forces. It was his singular fortune to achieve at Saratoga the most memorable victory, as it was at Camden to sustain the most crushing defeat, of the war.

It was at this point that on Oct. 24, 1789, the General, then become President, and attended by his secretaries, Col. Lear and Major Jackson, made his last entry into Boston to revisit the scene of his first memorable achievement, dressed in his old Continental uniform. He was saluted by a discharge of cannon from the Roxbury artillery, under Capt. Jonathan Warner, Col. Tyler's troop of horse escorting him

to the entrance of the town. He did not bow to the throng that crowded around him, but rode his famous white charger, a present from Charles IV of Spain, with a calm, dignified air, inclining his body first on one side and then on the other, and with his head uncovered. From some mismanagement Washington was detained at the Roxbury line nearly two hours, and exposed to a raw northeast wind, by which exposure he took a severe cold. Many others were similarly affected, and so general was the distemper that it was called the "Washington Influenza."

Dr. Thacher, surgeon of Col. Henry Jackson's regiment, relates this amusing incident attending a forced march of the regiment from Providence, R. I., to Boston: —

"A severe rain all night did not much impede our march, but the troops were broken down with fatigue. We reached Boston at sunrising, and near the entrance of the Neck was a tavern, having for its sign a representation of a globe with a man in the act of struggling to get through it; his head and shoulders were out, his arms extended, and the rest of his body enclosed in the globe. On a label from his mouth was written, 'Oh, how shall I get through this world?' This was read by the soldiers, and one of them exclaimed, 'List, d—n you, list, and you'll soon get through this world; our regiment will be through it in an hour or two if we don't halt by the way.'"

The Washington Market, standing a little south of the site of the George Tavern, covers that of the Washington House, in which Mrs. Susanna Rowson once kept a young ladies' school of high repute. While under the management of the Cooleys, father and son, it was, in the season, quite a noted resort for sleighing parties. Before the street railroad was built the Neck was the fashionable course for this exciting and exhilarating amusement, and every afternoon while the sleighing was good it was sure to be thronged with every variety of vehicle upon runners, from the modest pung to the magnificent barge, while the sidewalks were lined with spectators, watching the sport with eager interest and highly enjoying the gay and animated scene.

Next south of the market, the three-story brick building, known first as Washington Hall, and afterwards as the Washington Hotel, was a tavern as early as 1820. In 1837, and later, it was kept by Amherst Eaton, of Concert Hall.

Turning our backs upon the building on the opposite side of the street, belonging to the Metropolitan Railroad Company, and whose unsavory odors it is to be hoped are stable rather than permanent, we encounter on the edge of the sidewalk the upright stone placed here in 1822, that marks the old boundary between Roxbury and Boston. The outer gate, which in the early days of the settlement barred free ingress and egress over the narrow roadway, stood here. "Near this gate," says Sewall's Diary, "Mary, Indian James's squaw, was froze to death Nov. 27, 1685, being fuddled." In 1668 the inhabitants of Roxbury were prohibited digging clay here. The inner gate was at Dover Street.

Deacon George Alcock was the original proprietor of the twenty acres of upland and marsh on the east side of the Neck, extending from the line near the "Bull Pasture" to the burying-ground. Passing by inheritance to Col. Joshua Lamb, and afterwards to Joshua Lamb Woodbridge, it was purchased of the latter by Aaron Blaney. The wooden building adjoining the stable was the residence of Major Ben Weld, the painter, who was also a prominent military man.

In a building that once stood just south of Hunneman Street, the "Norfolk Gazette," the first newspaper in Roxbury, was published. It was issued weekly by Allen and Watts, from Dec. 15, 1824, to Feb. 6, 1827, when its press succumbed to the press of creditors.

Upon the same side, near the burying-ground, is an old house, formerly a tavern, with the sign of the "Ball and Pin," kept by Capt. Jesse Doggett.

"A trainband captain eke was he,"

who often marshalled his men along this dusty highway, and after a hot day's exercise doubtless threw wide his hospitable

doors and regaled the thirsty heroes with cool and refreshing beverages. The fact is worth noting that from Johnson to Doggett, the Roxbury innkeepers have generally been military men. Elizabeth Sumner Doggett, his daughter, became the wife of Elijah Lewis, and the mother of George Lewis, afterwards mayor of Roxbury.

Upon the westerly side of the street, beginning at the boundary line, was John Johnson's estate of eight acres, including the "house, barn, and house-lot on the back side of his orchard, and buildings lying together, with liberty to inclose the swamp and brook before the same, not annoying any highway."

John Johnson, "surveyor-general of all ye armyes," was chosen constable of Roxbury, Oct. 19, 1630; was made freeman in 1631: was for fourteen years a representative in the General Court, and died Sept. 29, 1659. He probably came over with Winthrop, was a "very industrious and faithful man in his place," and kept a tavern in Roxbury Street, where many public meetings were held. When Anne Hutchinson was taken into custody the General Court ordered that the arms of her Roxbury adherents be delivered to "goodman" Johnson, the town of Roxbury being required to take order for their custody, and "if any charge arise, to be defrayed by her husband."

Under date of Feb. 6, 1645, Winthrop records that "John Johnson having built a fair house in the midst of the town, with divers barns and other out-houses, it fell on fire in the day time (no man knowing by what occasion), and there being in it seventeen barrels of the country's powder and many arms, all was suddenly burnt and blown up to the value of four or five hundred pounds, wherein a special providence of God appeared, for he being from home the people came together to help and many were in the house, no man thinking of the powder till one of the company put them in mind of it, whereupon they all withdrew, and soon after the powder

took fire and blew up all about it, and shook the houses in Boston and Cambridge so as men thought it had been an earthquake, and carried great pieces of timber a good way off, and some rags and such light things beyond Boston meeting-house. There being then a stiff gale from the south, it drove the fire from the houses in the town (for this was the most northerly), otherwise it had endangered the greatest part of the town." Eliot, who had an eye for special providences, says: "Ye wind at first stood to carry ye fire to other howses, but suddenly turned it from all other howses only carrying it to ye outhouses and barns thereby, and it was a fierce wind & thereby drave ye element back from ye neighbors howses which in a calm time would by ye great heate have been set on fire." At this fire the first book of Town Records and the School Charter were destroyed; the former was an irreparable loss.

The old house standing at the corner of Ball Street was built by Aaron Davis, on the site of that occupied by his father, Capt. Aaron Davis, and taken down during the siege on account of its exposed situation. This estate of between ten and eleven acres, formerly John Johnson's, lay between Boston line, Smelt Brook, and Denison's house, having a frontage of three hundred and fifty feet on the west side of Washington Street. It included an extensive garden and orchard, now partially occupied by the green-house on the south side of Ball Street. After Mr. Davis built the house in Mall Street, his two unmarried sisters continued to reside in the old mansion. The order for the removal of the houses from Roxbury Street came from Gen. Washington through Adjt.-Gen. Gates on July 12, 1775, only a few days after the commander-in-chief's arrival in camp, and was a military necessity.

Col. Aaron Davis, grandson of William, an early inhabitant of the town and the father of Capt. Aaron, was early in life a blacksmith, and afterwards carried on the farm in West

Roxbury, formerly Col. William Dudley's, now occupied by Mrs. S. D. Bradford. An active patriot, his name is prominent in the annals of the town as a member of the Committee of Correspondence of Suffolk County, and also as a member of the Provincial Congresses of 1774 and 1775. He died, July 29, 1777, at the age of sixty-eight.

His son, a merchant, who died in 1773 at the early age of forty-eight, was, says an obituary notice, "A worthy, honest, useful man, and a great public loss." He, like his father, was captain of a military company, and his death is said to have been caused by a cold caught while drilling it. Moses, the brother of Capt. Aaron, kept a store where Mrs. Duffy now keeps. During the siege he kept a store at Hog Bridge, and supplied the troops at the forts and in the vicinity. After the war he rebuilt his house, taken down at the same time as his brother's, where, with his nephew Aaron for a partner, he did a large and lucrative business until overtaken by reverses during the war of 1812. His three-story dwelling-house, which was very old, was a little back from the street and west of the store. Tall and stout, of gentlemanly address, and much respected, his well-known piety occasioned his being always called "Deacon Moses," though he never held that office. He died in 1823. Mrs. David Dudley, who is still living at a ripe old age, is a daughter of Deacon Moses.

Next south of John Johnson was the Denison estate of nine acres "as you goe towards Boston," extending from a point opposite the burying-ground to Vernon Street, and including a dwelling-house, bake-house, orchard, and home lot.

The family of Denison was one of distinction in our colonial annals, though like those of Ruggles, Eliot, Bowles, Scarborough, and so many others of the early settlers of the town, the name has long been extinct here. William Denison, with his wife Margaret, and his sons Daniel, Edward, and George, probably came over in the "Lion" with Eliot, in 1631, as his name stands third in the record of the First Church.

Made a constable and a deputy to the General Court in 1634, he was a man of mark, possessed considerable property, and was one of the founders of the "Free School." With his son Edward and other Roxbury men he was disarmed in 1637, for "subscribing the seditious libel," or in other words, for being a follower of Anne Hutchinson, a woman who had opinions of her own upon religious subjects, and worse than all, in the eyes of the Puritan leaders in the colony, drew the more liberal and intelligent over to her way of thinking. He died in 1653.

His eldest son, Daniel, who married Patience, daughter of Gov. Thomas Dudley, removed to Ipswich, attained the rank of major-general, and was highly distinguished both in civil and military affairs. Edward, who was in 1665 the first town clerk of Roxbury, and a representative in 1652 and 1655, married Eliza, daughter of Capt. Joseph Weld, and died in April, 1668. His son William, a graduate of Harvard College in 1681, also town clerk for many years, died on March 22, 1718, when the name became extinct in Roxbury.

Of George, the youngest son, a romantic story is told. He was trained to arms, and while serving in Ireland was severely wounded. Borne by his men to the mansion of a gentleman named Borodaile, he was attended with great kindness and assiduity by Anne Borodaile, his only daughter, to whom, on returning to England, Denison engaged himself. Revisiting Ireland, he unfolded his intention of emigrating to America, at the same time urging her to accompany him as his wife. She declined encountering the perils of the sea and of the wilderness, and they parted. In 1640 he married Bridget Thompson, of Roxbury, who died three years later. Leaving his two infant daughters with their grandparents, he sailed for England in 1643, and under Cromwell resumed the military career as an officer of cavalry in the civil war then raging. Again visiting Ireland, he this time succeeded in persuading

the lady to accompany him to America. They remained a few years in Roxbury, where in 1646 we find that the young men of the town chose George Denison, "a young soldier lately come out of the wars," to be their captain, a choice that was negatived, however, by the elders. They afterwards settled in Stonington, Conn., where he distinguished himself in Philip's war as an energetic and capable commander. In 1676, with sixty-six volunteers and one hundred Christian Indians, he slew seventy-six of the enemy without losing a man, and took prisoner Canonchet, son of Miantonomoh, the Narraganset chief. Capt. George Denison died in 1694, at the age of seventy-six. Some of his wife's curious needle-work is yet in the possession of her descendants. She survived her husband eighteen years, dying in 1712, at the great age of ninety-seven.

James Howe's bakery stood on the vacant lot north of Mr. J. H. Hunneman's house. At the time of his death, in 1796, he occupied the old house adjoining, in which his widow afterward lived. Mrs. D. L. Gibbens, a daughter of James Howe, is yet living, at the age of eighty-one. His son, John Howe, is still remembered for his wit. The artist, J. W. Champney ("Champ"), is a descendant of James Howe.

Next come the residences of Messrs. Hunneman and Patten, both prominent citizens in their day, built about the beginning of the century, and in front of which are some fine horse-chestnut trees. Two of these, set out by Mr. Thomas Rumrill, were the first horse-chestnut trees ever seen in New England, and were raised from seed of the Ohio "Buckeye." Opposite the burying-ground is the old house, once quite an ornament to the street, but now, alas! fallen from its high estate and put to baser uses, such as a barber's shop, fish-market, etc. Aaron Davis, and after him John Doggett, resided here.

Before Williams Street was named, it was a narrow lane, leading to the marshes and upland belonging to Thomas

Williams. On its southerly corner stood until quite recently an old house in which "Lawyer Tom" Williams lived and kept an office until his removal to the homestead, made vacant by the death of his father, Dr. Thomas Williams. It then became the shop of John Doggett, carver and gilder, who under the style of John Doggett & Co. was long at the head of the looking-glass and carpet business in Roxbury and Boston. Their manufactory, which stood on the opposite corner, where the carriage building now stands, had a balcony in front, reached by steps from the street. Among Doggett's apprentices were Samuel Sprague Williams, Samuel Doggett, afterwards admitted to the firm, and E. G. Scott, W. C. Moore, John Hastings, and Dudley Williams. The founder of the house, John Doggett, was the first to carry on his trade in this vicinity, and was an ingenious and skilful workman. A knowledge of weaving having been obtained by him from a travelling English artisan, the foundation was subsequently laid for an extensive carpet business.

The first defensive work constructed by the Americans was a redoubt hastily thrown up immediately after the battle of Lexington across the highway leading to Boston, where the road to Dorchester (Eustis Street) begins. Its front was nearly on the southerly line of this road and the lane now Williams Street. This work, which at once defended the road to Dorchester and the entrance to the town of Roxbury, was called the "Burying-Ground Redoubt," and was subsequently enlarged and strengthened.

"About noon of the memorable 17th of June," says a soldier in Col. Learned's regiment, "we fired an alarm and rang the bells in Roxbury, and every man was ordered to arms, as an attack was expected. Col. Learned marched his regiment up to the meeting-house and then to the burying-ground, which was the alarm-post, where we laid in ambush, with two field-pieces placed to give it to them unawares should the regulars come. About six o'clock the enemy drew in

their sentries, and immediately a heavy fire was opened from the fortification. The balls whistled over our heads and through the houses, making the clapboards and shingles fly in all directions. Before the firing had begun, the general (Thomas) ordered some men down the street to fell some apple-trees across the street to hinder the approach of their artillery. Bombshells were thrown hourly into Roxbury during the night."

## CHAPTER IV.

### OLD BURIAL-GROUND TO DORCHESTER.

Eustis Street. — Old Burial-Ground. — Burial Customs. — Dudley Tomb. — Ministers' Tomb. — John Grosvenor. — Old Inscriptions. — The Canal. — Training-Field. — Military History. — Roxbury Artillery. — Lamb's Dam. — Dudley Street Baptist Church. — Deacon Parke. — Weld. — Mount Pleasant. — Robert Williams. — Dr. Thomas Williams. — Enoch Bartlett. — Gov. Shirley. — Gov. Eustis. — Lafayette. — John Read. — Dennis Street. — Col. James Swan.

THE way or lane leading into the Dorchester road by Dr. Thomas Williams's, and which formerly took Mall Street in its course, was shortened and straightened in 1802 "as far as the top of the hill." It received its present name in 1825, in honor of Gov. Eustis, whose residence it passed, and was so called as far as the brook, which made that part of the boundary line between Roxbury and Dorchester. Its entrance, formerly very narrow, was enlarged in 1854 by removing the greater part of the store of Aaron and Charles Davis on its southerly corner.

According to the Record of Houses and Lands in Roxbury in 1654, the dwellers in this quarter were, at that time, William Cheney, William Parke, Edward and Giles Payson, Robert and Samuel Williams, Francis Smith, and Edward Riggs.

At the corner of Washington and Eustis Streets is one of the oldest burial-places in New England, the first interment having been made in it in 1633. Here, since the earliest days of the settlement,

"The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep,"

and we cannot traverse it without seeing names alike venerable and memorable in New England's annals. Here, side

by side with the apostle Eliot and Robert Calef, were laid the Dudleys, the Warrens, and many others of lesser note. Names that elsewhere would strike us with a sense of their incongruity seem in this place altogether appropriate. Here Lyon and Lamb lie down together in fraternal harmony, peacefully commingling their ashes with those of Pigge and Peacock, while near them reposes the dust of Pepper and Onion, — savory conjunction! — inseparable in life, even in death they are not divided. We seem here to be brought into the immediate presence of the past. The old homestead and place of worship has disappeared, old landmarks have vanished or are so changed as to be almost unrecognizable: all that time, decay, and change have left of the past is here, — the old gravestone, the quaint inscription, the rude verse, and the dust sleeping quietly beneath.

While the old places of sepulture are usually unattractive save to the antiquary and those curious in old epitaphs, nothing is more characteristic of New England. Their monuments, epitaphs, and decorations show at once the prevalence of religion, the backwardness of taste, and the poverty of the times. The mourned and the mourners are now alike forgotten. Of their descendants, many have left forever the seats of their fathers, and such as still dwell here are too remote to cherish peculiar veneration for those who died so long ago "Our fathers find their graves in our short memories, and sadly tell us how we may be buried in our survivors'."

This, like most of the early graveyards of our fathers, was chosen neither for its picturesque surroundings nor for its natural beauty, but simply for its convenient situation. One of the most marked differences between their day and our own is seen in the contrast of the old graveyards, with their sterile plainness, and the modern cemeteries, with their charming and varied scenery, their beautiful grounds and flowers, and their choice sculptures. The resting-place of the departed is now —

"A place of beauty and of flowers,
With fragrant wreaths and summer boughs arrayed,
And lovely sculpture gleaming through the shade."

The town records say: —

"Feb. this 23d. 1648. It is agreed with John Woody, Constabell The sayd John is to Fenc in the buring plas with a Fesy (?) ston wall seighattly (sufficiently) don for strenk and workmanshipe. as also to mak a doball gatt of 6 or 8 fote wid and to hing(e) it and to find all stuf and stons and workmanshipe, and he is to Finesh ed by the first of Jvne next, and in considerashan of this work he is to have six pounds and he is to paye himself out of the town Ratt (tax). in witness we have hereto sett to our hands the day above Ritten.

"JOHN WOODDEY
JOSHUA HEWES
JOHN JOHNSON."

In 1725, Col. Joshua Lamb gave a quarter of an acre to enlarge the grounds upon the northwest, "reserving to himself the herbage thereof." From its exposed situation, the place was greatly injured during the siege. The first barrier erected to prevent the British troops from coming out of Boston crossed the highway at this point. After many years of neglect and decay, during which it had become overgrown with noxious weeds and unsightly bushes, its condition becoming unbearable, the city government of Roxbury, in 1857, redeemed the sepulchre of their ancestors. They graded the grounds, rebuilt the external walls with a handsome gateway, laid out and gravelled footpaths in various directions, and planted a variety of forest trees, including many evergreens, around the borders and among the old graves. Many of the old stones, which had been nearly or quite buried in the earth, were raised and reset, and the broken monuments repaired. The two large wooden gates that afforded entrance, one where the present iron one stands, the other near the engine-house, were taken away. Interments ceased to be made here in 1854, excepting those made in family tombs.

Cremation, abstractly considered, may be a good thing, but what ought we to think of the individual who could set fire to a graveyard? Such an event actually occurred here one Sunday evening in March, 1826, when the whole town was alarmed by the cry of fire. Flames and smoke were discovered issuing from one of the tombs in which some miscreant had placed combustibles and afterwards ignited them, in consequence of some paltry dispute about its ownership.

An early writer tells us that "at burials nothing is read nor any funeral sermon made, but all the neighborhood or a good company of them come together by the tolling of a bell, and carry the dead solemnly to the grave and then stand by him while he is buried. The ministers are most commonly present." As far as is known, the first instance of prayer at a funeral in Massachusetts was at the burial of Rev. William Adams, of Roxbury, on Aug. 19, 1685, when, as Judge Sewall noted in his Diary, "Mr. Wilson, minister of Medfield, prayed with the company before they went to the grave."

Among the funeral charges at the interment of Rev. Thomas Walter, who was, as a testimonial of affection and respect, buried at the public cost, are these items: —

| | |
|---|---|
| "5 doz and 3 payres of gloves @ 45/ | £12. 0. 0 |
| 3 Payres Womens Mourning gloves | 1. 16. 0 |
| 6 Rings | 6. 12. 0 |
| 1 Barril of Wine | 9. 1. 6 |
| Pipes and tobacco | 3. 0 |
| Box to put the bones of old Mr Eliot and others in | 6. 0" |

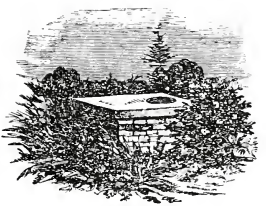
Wine flowed freely upon these, as upon all public occasions. So great an evil had this become that, in 1742, the General Court prohibited its use at funerals. That body had as early as in 1724 passed an act recommending a retrenchment in funeral expenses.

The extravagances and cost of funerals grew so burdensome that in 1764 the custom of giving gloves was discontinued except to the bearers. The custom of distributing

gloves at funerals, it has been wittily suggested, was originally, perhaps, a challenge from the doctor, defying all who shall dare say that he had committed murder contrary to the rules of art.

At the death of Capt. Samuel Stevens's wife, the expense of mourning apparel was avoided, "according to the new method of the town of Boston, which," says the Roxbury correspondent of the "Boston Gazette," "meets with general approval among us." In this measure economy and patriotism went hand in hand, the non-importation of all articles not of prime necessity having been generally agreed to by the colonists.

On entering the cemetery from Eustis Street, the first tomb that meets the eye, and the one upon the highest ground, is covered with an oval slab of white marble bearing the name of "Dudley." In it reposes the dust of the two governors, Thomas and Joseph Dudley, Chief-Justice Paul Dudley, and Col. William Dudley, a prominent political leader a century and a half ago. The original inscription plate is said to have been of pewter, and to have been taken out by some of the patriots during the siege and run into bullets, lead being a scarce article in their camp.



DUDLEY TOMB — OLD TABLET.

Of the epitaphs on Thomas Dudley, that by Rev. Ezekiel Rogers is by far the best: —

"In books a prodigal they say,
A living cyclopædia.
A table talker, rich in sense
And witty without wit's pretence.

An able champion in debate,
Whose words lacked numbers but not weight,
Both Catholic and Christian too,
A soldier trusty, tried and true;
Condemned to share the common doom,
Reposes here in Dudley's tomb."

By way of contrast, this, from Broome Churchyard, England, on another Dudley, will do: —

"God be praised!
Here is Mr. Dudley senior
And Jane his wife also,
Who, whilst living was his superior
But see what death can do.
Two of his sons also lie here,
One Walter, t'other Joe;
They all of them went in the year
1510, below."

Near the centre of the ground is the ministers' tomb, in which are the remains of the pastors of the First Church, including the apostle Eliot. The tomb that formerly occupied this spot was erected about the year 1686, by the friends of William Bowen, of Roxbury, who had been a captive in the hands of the Turks. Hearing of his pitiable condition, they raised a sum of money for his ransom. He died before this could be effected, and the money was appropriated to the building of a tomb for their deceased ministers. "Good old Mrs. Eliot," the apostle's wife, became its first occupant. The old tomb was about three feet in height, built of brick, and covered by a large slab of sandstone, without inscription, and was in a ruinous condition when the parish committee caused the brick portion of the structure to be replaced by substantial blocks of sandstone. On one side is inscribed in large letters,

THE PARISH TOMB.

A white marble slab was placed upon the sandstone base in 1858, with the following inscription: —

Here lie the Remains
of
JOHN ELIOT,
The Apostle to the Indians,
Ordained over the First Church Nov. 5, 1632. Died May 20, 1690.
Aged LXXXVI.

Also of
THOMAS WALTER,
Ordained Oct. 19, 1718. Died Jan. 10, 1725.
Aged XXIX.

NEHEMIAH WALTER,
Ordained Oct. 17, 1688. Died Sept. 17, 1750.
Aged LXXXVII.

OLIVER PEABODY,
Ordained Nov. 7, 1750. Died May 29, 1752.
Aged XXXII.

AMOS ADAMS,
Ordained Sept. 12, 1753. Died Oct. 5, 1775.
Aged XLVII.

ELIPHALET PORTER,
Ordained Oct. 2, 1782. Died Dec. 7, 1833.
Aged LXXV.

The oldest gravestone now to be found here is that of the first child of Rev. Samuel Danforth, the colleague of Eliot: —

SAMUEL DANFORTH,
Aged 6 months.
Dyed 22 D: 3 M: 1653.

A curious epitaph is this of one of the early teachers of the Roxbury School and a graduate of Harvard College: —

"Sub spe immortali, y^e
Herse of Mr. Benj. Thomson
Learned Schoolmaster,
& Physician & y^e
Renouned poet of N. Engl.
Obiit Aprilis 13, Anno Dom.
1714 & Ætatis suæ 74
Mortuus Sed Immortalis.
He that would try
What is true happiness indeed, must die."

Among the old stones is one thus inscribed: —

"Here lyeth buried ye Body of Mr. John Grosvenor, who Decd. Sept. ye 27th in ye 49th year of his age. 1691."

GROSVENOR.

Upon it is the coat-of-arms of Grosvenor, the family name of the Marquis of Westminster, who is accounted the wealthiest of English noblemen. This is the only coat-of-arms in this old cemetery, although the Dudleys, the Denisons, and many other of the early families here were no doubt entitled to the distinction. The scion of the illustrious house of Grosvenor, who once resided in Roxbury, was by trade a tanner, and held the responsible office of town constable, then of great dignity and importance.

Some of the early inscriptions remaining are, —

John Alcocke, May 5, 1690, in ye 35th year of his age.

Robert Calef, April 13, 1719, aged 71.

Isaac Curtis, May 31, 1695, aged 55.

John Davis, March 16, 1704–5, aged about 62.

John Mayo, April 28, 1688, aged 38. Hannah, his wife, Oct. 5, 1699, aged 63.

Deacon Wm. Park, May 10, 1683, aged 79.

John Pierpont, Dec. 7, 1682, aged 65.

Deacon Samuel Scarborough, March 18, 1714, aged 69 years and 2 mos.

Shubal Sever, Jan. 18, 1729–30, aged 92. Hannah, his wife, Feb. 13, 1721–2, aged 75.

John Watson, Dec. 2, 1671, aged 77.

Thomas Weld, Jan. 17, 1682–3, aged 56. Dorothy, his widow, July 31, 1694, aged 66.

Elisabeth Williams, aged 80 years, died the last of June, 1674.

Theoda, widow of Stephen Peck, Aug. 26, 1718, aged 81. (Her first husband was Deacon Samuel Williams.)

John Stebbins, aged 70 years, died Dec. 4, 1681. "An (Anne Munke), who was his first wife lieth by him aged 50 years, died April 3d, 1680."

"Here lyes interred ye body of WILLIAM DENISON, Master of Arts & representative for ye town of Roxbury about 20 years, who departed this life March 22d 1717–18 ætatis 54.

> "*Integer atque Probus Deus Patria que fidelis,*
> *Uixit nunc placide dormet in hoc tumulo.*"

Crude and inharmonious as are the verses upon these stones, they exhibit no such glaring violation of good taste as does this couplet in Westminster Abbey, over the remains of the poet Mathew Prior: —

"Life is a jest, and all things shew it.
I thought so once, and now I know it."

For all its wealth of costly tombs, monumental marble, and storied urn, Westminster Abbey contains no more precious dust than that of the good old apostle Eliot, who sleeps in this hallowed ground.

On the north side of the yard are the gravestones of some of the Warren family, including Joseph, the father of Gen. Warren. Most of their remains have been transferred to Forest Hills.

A canal fifty feet in width, extending from the wharf at Lamb's Dam Creek nearly to Eustis Street, just east of the burying-ground, was built about the year 1795. Its enterprising projectors, among whom were Ralph Smith, Dr. Thomas Williams, and Aaron and Charles Davis, proposed by this means to save two and a half miles of land carriage from the centre of Boston, in their supplies of fuel, lumber, bark for tanning, flour, salt, etc., and in conveying to the shipping in the harbor and stores on the wharves, as well as exporting abroad, the salted provisions and country produce which constituted a large proportion of the trade and commerce of the town at that time. The line between Roxbury and Boston passed through the centre of this canal. Gen. Heath's manuscript journal, under date of March 9, 1796, notes the fact that a large topsail schooner that day came up into the basin of the new canal in "Lamb's Meadow."

When Northampton Street was built in 1832, the terminus of navigation was made where Morse & Co. now have their coal wharf. North of this street and east of Harrison Avenue was a dike to keep out the sea; all else was marsh flats save where the channel afforded sufficient depth to float

small vessels laden with merchandise to Roxbury. The canal, never a paying investment, long ago ceased to be of commercial importance, and is soon to be filled up by the city.

A little to the east, in the direction of the old magazine, ran a wide creek, in which the rite of baptism was frequently performed. At one of these ceremonies of unusual interest, the pressure of the spectators against a fence upon its border was so great that it gave way, and a number of sinners were immersed *nolens volens*, — a circumstance which greatly interfered with the solemnity of the occasion.

The old canal-house, where the lumber-yard of Wm. Curtis now is, was the storehouse of Aaron and Charles Davis, pork and beef dealers and slaughterers. This was at the head of the canal. Near the pier was a little beach or landing-place where fishermen disposed of their piscatory wares. Among them was Capt. Samuel Trask, a soldier of the Revolution, yet remembered by those who as boys frequented the beach and enjoyed its boating and other privileges as only boys can. The captain, who late in life kept a fishing vessel here, built in 1812, near the head of the canal, a schooner of about seventy tons. This vessel, laden with provisions by Aaron and Charles Davis, on sailing out of the harbor fell an easy prey to the British fleet then cruising at its entrance.

Trask had been an artilleryman at Monmouth, and one of his stories of that hot engagement was worthy of Munchausen. The bullets fell so thickly in his immediate vicinity, so he said, that after the battle was over he found his outside pockets filled with those fired from the enemy, they having fallen there, somewhat flattened, after first striking his person. To the occupation of fishing, Trask added that of roofing.

The old training-field, devoted to this purpose from the earliest days, contained seven acres, and was situated between Dudley and Eustis Streets, its western boundary being opposite Greenville Street. It formed the eastern por-

tion of the triangle lying between Washington, Dudley, and Eustis Streets, having upon its western side the estates of Eliot, Walter, Weld, and Danforth. Originally the property of Deacon William Parke, it came in possession of the Weld family, Joseph Weld, in 1762, perfecting his title by purchasing of the town its right to use the ground for military exercises. Other grounds subsequently used for this purpose were, the common west of the church, now Eliot Square, "Ned's Hill," where the House of the Angel Guardian now stands, and the Wyman farm, above Hog Bridge.

Among the distinguishing traits of our ancestors was their attention to military affairs. Arms were a common possession. Those of Isaac Morrill, of Roxbury, hung up in his parlor, were, a musket, a fowling-piece, three swords, a pike, a half-pike, a corselet, and two belts of bandoleers. All males between sixteen and sixty were required to be provided with arms and ammunition. The arms of private soldiers were pikes, muskets, and swords. The muskets had matchlocks or firelocks, and to each one there was a pair of bandoleers or pouches for powder and bullets, and a stick called a rest for use in taking aim. The pikes were ten feet in length, besides the spear at the end. For defensive armor corselets were worn, and coats quilted with cotton.

The trainband had not less than sixty-four, nor more than two hundred men, and twice as many musketeers as pikemen, the latter being of superior stature. Its officers were a captain, lieutenant, ensign, and four sergeants. The commissioned officers carried swords, partisans or leading staves, and sometimes pistols. The sergeants bore halberds. The flag of the colony bore the red cross of St. George in one corner, upon a white field, the pine-tree, the favorite emblem of New England, being in one corner of the four spaces formed by the cross. Company trainings were ordered at

COLONIAL FLAG.

first every Saturday, then every month, then eight times a year. "The training to begin at one of the clock of the afternoon." The drum was their only music.

As early as July, 1631, the General Court ordered that on the first Tuesday of every month there should be a general training of Capt. John Underhill's company, at Roxbury or Boston. This company was composed of the freemen of both towns.

Underhill, who was subsequently banished for sharing in the heresies of Mrs. Hutchinson, claimed to have had an influx of the Holy Spirit while indulging in "the moderate use of the creature called tobacko." He had been a soldier in the Netherlands, and was one of the commanders at the destruction of the Pequod fort, at Mystic.

Lieut. Richard Morris, also exiled for the same cause, was one of the founders of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company; represented Roxbury in the General Court in 1635–6, and was the second commander of Castle William. In March, 1633, he was Underhill's ensign, but "taking some distaste to his office, requested the magistrates that he might be discharged of it, and so was, whereby he gave offence to the congregation of Boston, so as being questioned and convinced of sin in forsaking his calling, he did acknowledge his fault, and at the request of the people was by the magistrates chosen lieutenant of the same company, for he was a very stout man and an experienced soldier." Punishment on "conviction of sin," by promotion, seems singular, but in the case of this "very stout man and experienced soldier" must be regarded as extremely politic. Com. Charles Morris, one of our most distinguished naval officers, was a descendant of this Lieut. Richard, of Roxbury.

Dec. 13, 1636, the General Court ordered, "That all military men in this jurisdiction shall be ranked into three regiments, Boston, Roxberry, Dorchester, Weimouth, Hingham, to be one regiment, whereof John Winthrope senior

esquire shall be colonel, and Thos. Dudley Esquire lieftenant colonel." In the expedition under Stoughton against the Pequods, in 1637, there were ten Roxbury men.

In 1646, Capt. Joseph Weld being dead, "the young men of the town agreed together to choose one George Denison, a young soldier come lately out of the wars in England, but the ancient and chief men of the town chose one Mr. Prichard, whereupon much discontent and murmuring arose in the town." The court negatived the action of "Young America" and decided in favor of Prichard.

At a later period it was ordered and decreed "That all the souldiers belonging to the 26 bands in the Massachusets government should be examined and drilled eight daies in a yeare and whoever shonld absent himself, except it were upon unavoidable occasion should pay 5 shillings for every daies neglect." "There are none exempt unless it be a few timorons persons that are apt to plead infirmity if the church choose them not for deacons or they cannot get to serve some magistrate or minister," says Lechford, "but assuredly the generality of this people are very forward for feats of war."

John Dunton, a London bookseller then visiting Boston, thus describes a training in 1685: "Being come into the field the captain called us all into our close order to go to prayer, and then prayed himself, and when our exercise was done the captain likewise concluded with prayer. Solemn prayer in the field upon a day of training I never knew but in New England, where it seems it is a common custom. About 3 of the clock both our exercises and praying being over, we had a very noble dinner to which all the clergy were invited."

The town that sent three companies of minute-men to Lexington on the 19th of April, 1775, and furnished three generals to the Revolutionary army, may well be proud of her military record. Eliot's testimony respecting the efforts made by the town during Philip's war is given elsewhere.

In the various Indian wars during the colonial period, and those in which England and France contended for the empire of America, the citizens of Roxbury took an active part, furnishing many officers of distinction as well as a large number of intrepid soldiers. The officers of the military company of the town which, in 1689, took part in the Revolution that overthrew the government of Andros, were Capt. Samuel Ruggles, Sen., Lieut. Samuel Gore, and Ensign Timothy Stevens.

Roxbury and Brookline sent thirty-nine soldiers in the ill-fated expedition to Canada in 1690, most of whom perished. A tract of land was in 1735 granted to their widows and children, called Roxbury or Gardiner's Canada, now Warwick, Mass., a town in the northeast corner of Franklin County, thirty-seven miles from Boston. In September, 1736, Samuel Newell and the officers and soldiers in the company, under the command of Capt. Andrew Gardiner, in the Canada expedition, held the first meeting of the proprietors at the house of James Jarvis, innkeeper, in Roxbury. Capt. Robert Sharp, of Brookline, was chosen moderator, and William Dudley, Esq., clerk. Roxbury was well represented in the Louisburg expedition in 1745. She sent two companies, commanded by Nathaniel Williams and John Ruggles, Ebenezer Newell being the lieutenant in the company of Estes Hatch. Among the officers from Roxbury who served in the campaigns of 1758–60, in Canada, were Col. Joseph Williams, Capt. Jeremiah Richards, Jr., and Lieut. Ephraim Jackson.

In December, 1773, the three Roxbury companies were commanded respectively by Ebenezer Gore, Thomas Mayo, Jr., and Lemuel May. In March, 1784, the Roxbury artillery was formed, and John Jones Spooner, a gentleman of high character, afterwards a clergyman, was chosen captain. This corps, which did good service in Shays's Rebellion, became an infantry company in 1857, taking its present name,

the Roxbury City Guard. It furnished three companies to the war for the Union. After its change of name the old members organized themselves as the Roxbury Artillery Association.

The first parade of the company took place on July 5, 1784, the occasion being the celebration of the anniversary of National Independence, the Fourth falling on Sunday. An eye-witness says, "They appeared well, and performed their exercises in a creditable manner. They dined together and were joined by a number of gentlemen of this and some other towns." On the 15th of October following, they again paraded on occasion of the visit of Gen. Lafayette, saluting him with thirteen guns. Their gun-house, or place of meeting, was in the rear of the old town house.

It is quite a feather in the cap of this ancient company, that so soon after the Revolutionary war, and while everything was prostrate, it should have succeeded in establishing upon a permanent basis the organization that subsists to-day. At that time Boston had not a single live military company, unless it was the artillery company of Capt. Davis. The Ancient and Honorable Artillery, the Cadets, and the Grenadier corps had either been disbanded or were without vitality, so that when the celebrations of July 4, 1784, 1785, and 1786, took place, Roxbury furnished Boston with the military escort for the occasion.

The Norfolk Guards were organized in 1818, Alexander H. Gibbs, commander; reorganized in 1838, and disbanded in 1855. Col. Wm. H. Spooner, son of Major John Jones Spooner, and grandson of Gen. Heath, commanded them in 1841. This corps was highly distinguished for its bearing and efficiency, and bore upon its roll the names of many of the prominent citizens of the town.

Roxbury performed her whole duty in the war of the Rebellion, placing her entire quota promptly in the field. Among her brave sons whose lives were sacrificed upon the

altar of their country were Gen. T. J. C. Amory and Col. Lucius M. Sargent.

On the corner of Mall Street, formerly a part of the training field, the large house built in 1804 by Aaron Davis for his residence, is the site of a redoubt constructed in the early days of the siege to protect the approach to Dorchester. Here ran the lower road, the creek making up near it.

Albany Street, originally the "Way to the Town Landing" or wharf, was in 1825 widened and named Davis Street. It then extended from Eustis Street to the town wharf. Since annexation it has been extended to its present terminus, forming a broad and continuous roadway east of and parallel with Harrison Avenue. The latter, originating in a dike for the protection of the Neck, known a century ago as Hill's Dam, received its present name in 1841 in honor of the visit of the President. Front Street, as it was then called, was continued to Eustis Street, and the Roxbury portion of it named Plymouth Street. It was extended in 1870 to Warren Street.

An elevation, quite precipitous on its western side, beginning at Yeoman Street and sloping down nearly to the Lead Works in Albany Street, was the site of the Lamb's Dam Battery, famous during the siege. The works here, completed early in September, 1775, were in 1786 levelled by order of the town. The hill on which they stood was graded down many years ago.

Lamb's Dam, built to prevent the tide from overflowing the marsh, and perhaps to facilitate the making of salt here, ran parallel with the present Northampton Street, ten feet east of it, to the town landing. It made a slight angle at its junction with Hill's Dam, and struck Washington Street just south of Walnut Place. At the landing-place the brothers Aaron and Charles Davis had, besides the store on the corner of Eustis and Washington Streets, an extensive establishment for packing provisions, a distillery, and a tannery.

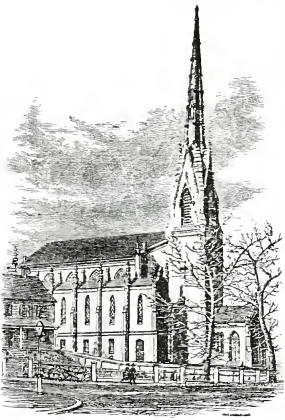
Lamb's Dam was the scene of a tragical event at the close of the year 1778. During a violent snow-storm, William Bishop, of Cumberland, R. I., returning from Boston with a team and two oxen and a horse, through the severity of the weather missed his way as he was crossing the Neck, and got upon Lamb's Dam, where he with his cattle and horse perished. Finding it impossible to save his team he left it, and endeavored to reach a barrack in the fort near by, but failed in the attempt. On the following day three Frenchmen were found dead in Roxbury, supposed to have perished of the extreme cold of the preceding night.

Having traversed the old lane to its junction with the Dorchester road, let us retrace our steps, and, taking a new departure, follow the old Dorchester road which began on the town street near Zeigler, and passing around the old schoolhouse and over the narrow road between it and Smelt Brook, took a straight course to Dorchester through what is now Dudley Street, so named west of Washington Street in 1811, and east of it in 1825.

On our left is the Eliot estate, which, with the training-field, extended to Mount Pleasant. Upon the right, lying between Washington and Warren Streets, is the Isaac Morrill estate. Here also was the blacksmith's shop of Tobias Davis, son-in-law of Morrill and contemporary with the apostle Eliot. One of Isaac Morrill's two forges belonged in 1720 to his great-grandson, Samuel Stevens, the grandfather of Joseph Warren. Let us pause for a moment before the Dudley Street Baptist Church and glance at its records.

A series of meetings held in the autumn of 1817 at the residence of Beza Tucker, now occupied by C. F. Bradford, subsequently continued in what was called "Whitewash Hall," a room in the three-story wooden building in Guild Row, led to the formation of the Dudley Street Baptist Church. At that time even this, the most thickly settled portion of the town, had but a small population, and but one

religious society, that of Rev. Dr. Porter, worshipping in the old meeting-house on the hill. A site was purchased of Dea. Munroe, and the first building, which was of wood, was raised May 10, 1820, on the same day that the remains of Mr. Tucker, the early and generous friend of the society, were borne to the grave. The church was dedicated Nov. 1, 1820, and on March 9, 1821, the society, consisting of twenty-three persons, under the name of "The Baptist Church in Roxbury," was formed. Its present name was adopted on Feb. 28, 1850.



DUDLEY STREET BAPTIST CHURCH.

On May 15, 1821, seven converts were baptized in Stony Brook. At this, the first administration of baptism in Roxbury, about two thousand persons were present, almost the entire population turning out to witness it. On a subsequent occasion the number present was so great, and all were so eager to behold the solemn rite, that they crowded upon the logs and planks which extended out over the water near the old dam where the service was performed. Suddenly the plank on

which stood one of the most excellent and highly esteemed Christian citizens of the town gave way, and he was subjected, in the presence of all, to an unwilling immersion.

In 1852, to meet the wants of the growing congregation, the present beautiful edifice was erected, and the old one sold to the Methodists, who removed it to the corner of Warren and Cliff Streets, where it was destroyed by fire early on Sunday morning, March 29, 1868. The new house, which was dedicated July 27, 1853, is of brick, in the pointed Gothic style, is covered with mastic, and blocked off in imitation of brown sandstone. The interior is divided into nave and side aisles by cluster columns from which spring arches, supporting the clere-story. Its length, exclusive of the porch, is one hundred and seventeen feet; extreme breadth, seventy-five feet; height of tower and spire, built entirely of brick, two hundred feet. It has a seating capacity of eleven hundred. The succession of its pastors follows: —

| | SETTLED. | RESIGNED. |
|---|---|---|
| JOSEPH ELLIOT, | March, 1822. | June, 1824. |
| WILLIAM LEVERETT, | June, 1825. | July, 1839. |
| THOS. FORD CALDICOTT, | June, 1840. | April, 1848. |
| THOS. DAVIS ANDERSON, | August, 1848. | December, 1861. |
| HENRY MELVILLE KING, | April, 1863. | |

On the southeasterly side, after passing Warren Street, came the estate of Wm. Cheney, of two and one half acres. Next came Dea. William Parke, with eight acres, while beyond were the houses and lands of Payson, Francis Smith, and Edward Riggs. Dea. Parke, "a man of pregnant understanding, and one of the first in the church of Roxbury," came over among the first settlers in 1630, and for more than half a century was one of her most useful and honored citizens. For thirty-three years he was her representative in the legislature, was often a selectman, holding also many other important trusts, public and private, and was one of the earliest members of the Ancient and Honora-

ble Artillery Company. He died in 1685, at the age of seventy-eight, being, as expressed in his will, "old and weake of body but of perfect understanding, according to the measure received." He had no sons, and his large property passed after his decease into the hands of his grandchildren, principally to the children of his daughter Theoda, wife of Samuel Williams.

A portion of this estate passed to the Weld family, one of whom, Mr. Samuel Weld, yet resides here. Edmund, grandson of Rev. Thomas Weld, in 1742 bequeathed to his son Edmund his "part of the homestead and trainiug field, and the land adjoyning." The Unitarian Church, on the corner of Greenville Street, in which Rev. Wm. R. Alger preached from 1847 to 1855, is nearly on the site of the Edmund Weld homestead. Moreland, Fairland, Greenville, and a part of Winthrop Streets are comprised within the limits of the Weld estate. The home of the present representative of this old family, on Moreland Street, is also that of his sister and her husband, the well-known writer, Epes Sargent, Esq.

Between the Weld farm and the estate formerly John Read's is the locality known as Mount Pleasant. It includes the avenue of that name, Vine and Forest Streets, and extends to the northern extremity of Blue Hill, formerly Grove Hall Avenue. Giles Payson, a deacon of the First Church, who also held many town offices, had here his homestead of five acres. He was one of the Nazing emigrants, and died in 1688. The Payson estate afterwards became the property of John Holbrook, tanner, and in 1767 was bought by Moses White. Daniel, the last of the Roxbury Holbrooks, died here in 1827, aged eighty-three. This farm, then consisting of twenty-seven acres, was bought about 1833 of the heirs of Aaron White, and cut up into house lots. White's former residence is on Forest Street, next that of Hon. John S. Sleeper. This was one of the first of the old Roxbury farms bought for speculative purposes, and received its

present attractive name in 1885. Prior to 1868 Forest Street was called Chestnut; and Mount Pleasant Avenue, Elm Avenue. This part of Eustis Street was at the same time rechristened Dudley.

Mr. Sleeper, who yet resides here at the age of eighty-three, came to Roxbury in 1843. Twenty-one years of his early life were passed on the ocean, and his experiences of a seafaring life have been given to the public in newspaper sketches and in books. He edited and published the "Boston Journal" for many years. In 1856-58 he was mayor of Roxbury, and recently represented his district in the State Senate.

The homestead of Robert Williams, one of the early settlers of Roxbury, in which five generations of the family lived and died, remained standing until 1794, upon the site now occupied by the large brick dwelling-house on Dearborn Street, near the schoolhouse. This house, built by Dr. Thomas Williams, was the first brick mansion erected in Roxbury, and was the family residence until the death of his son, "Lawyer Tom," in 1823. This old family seat formed a part of quite a large estate, extending easterly from what is now Albany Street, on both sides of Eustis Street, as far as Magazine Street. It sustained great injury during the siege, the best part of its orchard having been cut down by the troops.

In 1820 the estate, then containing one hundred and twenty acres of upland and ten acres of marsh, was bought of the heirs of Dr. Thomas Williams by Aaron D. Williams and William H. Sumner, and afterwards cut up into lots and sold. The mansion was recently owned by W. Elliott Woodward, who at the same time had in his possession those of Gov. Eustis and Col. Swan, all three notable residences. To the enterprise and energy of this gentleman, Roxbury is greatly indebted for the building up of this quarter of the town.

Robert, the emigrant ancestor of this the most prolific of the old Roxbury families, came from Norwich, England, in 1638, and died at a great age in 1693. Among his distinguished descendants are Col. Ephraim, founder of Williams College; Rev. Elisha, president of Yale College; William, governor of Connecticut, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence; Col. Joseph, of Roxbury; and Rev. Eleazer, the "lost Bourbon."

Most of the Roxbury Williamses are descended from Stephen, third son of Robert, who inherited the homestead, and died in 1720. Capt. Stephen Williams, his son, is thus commemorated on his gravestone in the old burying-ground:

"His works of piety and love
Remain before the Lord;
Honor on earth and joy above
Shall be his sure reward."

Dr. Thomas, son of Eleazer and Sarah Williams, an excellent physician and a prominent citizen, born here in 1736, died in 1815, after a life of remarkable industry, temperance, and activity. He was influential in town affairs, and was one of the projectors and corporators of the Roxbury Canal. The doctor was a dark-complexioned man, of exceedingly courteous manners, and when making his daily round of professional visits upon his large white horse, being near sighted, would bow to every window as he passed, so as to avoid giving offence by omitting anybody.

The diary of Daniel McCurtin, one of the Pennsylvania riflemen quartered here during the siege, contains some amusing particulars. He says: —

"Upon the 13th of August, 1775, we marched from Cambridge in company with Capt. Morgan's company to a small village named Rocksbury, about two miles from Boston, situated on the south side of the city and fairly exposed to their fortifications. This has been a pleasant place, but the regulars have spoiled it with their cannon balls, and it is now in a manner desolate, the people having left their houses and given them to the soldiers for barracks. The 14th being

Sunday, we had to stand sentry at a place called Lamb's Dam while a party of our musketmen were erecting a fort.

"Sept. 11. This morning as I was breakfasting in the former dwelling-house of Dr. Williams, they fired four 32-pounders at the house, one of which rushed through the room, dashed one side out of the chimney, broke two partitions, and filled our dishes with plastering, ceiling, and bricks. George Switzler, Sergt. Dowd, and William Johnson were in the room when this happened. Any one may judge whether or no this did not surprise us four young heroes. How it was with the others I cannot say, but I know to the best of my thinking that I went down two pair of stairs of three strides, without a fall, and as soon as I was out of doors ran to the breastwork in great haste, which is our place of safety, without the least concern for our breakfast, to James McCancie's amazement.

"Oct. 11. This day at eleven o'clock came Dr. Williams to take away a corn-house belonging to him which stood adjacent to our house. It was thirteen feet long and eleven broad, and very strongly made. He brought a cart, six oxen, and two cows. First the house was lifted up on the cart and balanced evenly; then our men conveyed him for about a mile, at which time we met a hill which made us think that the house could never be hauled up. At this, Dr. Williams went into an orchard and fetched a hatful of apples and came out on the hilltop and split them, and expressed himself in these words to the steers, 'Come up, and you may eat apples,' at which words the cattle strained and pulled for life until they got up, which caused us to laugh very heartily, and wonder much."

The doctor was a Tory, but by no means an obnoxious one, and he was too useful a citizen to be driven away, as were the others. On hearing of the affair at Lexington he remarked to Edward Sumner, "Well, the nail is driven." "Yes," said Sumner, who was always opposed in politics to the doctor, "the nail is driven, and we'll clinch it, too."

Robert, his grandfather, was some time town clerk of Roxbury, and received two acres of land near Dorchester Brook, for his services. He subsequently petitioned the town to take it back, as it occasioned him "too much worldly care." The doctor being a somewhat avaricious man, Sumner would often banter him about the great change in the Williamses in this particular since Robert's day.

A sharp bargain was that which he drove with a passing countryman, whose load of bricks he examined, and having selected three perfect samples, made a contract with him for enough to build his new house. The astonishment and disgust of the countryman may be imagined when he found, on delivering his first load, which was no way inferior to the one examined, that every brick not equal in size or color, and not in every respect up to the sample, was rejected.

East Street, so named in 1842, now Hampden Street, runs diagonally through the Williams estate from Eustis Street to the lead works. On Blue Hill Avenue, then called East Street, an extensive piggery once stood. Lucius M. Sargent, in his "Dealings with the Dead," gives the following amusing account of this nuisance, and how it was abated: —

"In 1832 Boston went extensively into the carrion and garbage business, and furnished the provant for a legion of hogs. The carrion carts of the metropolis of New England, *eundo redeundo et manendo*, dropping filth and fatness as they went, became an abominable nuisance and, as Commodore Trunnion beat up to church on his wedding day, so every citizen, as soon as he discovered one of these aromatic vehicles drawn by six or eight horses, was obliged to 'close haul his nose, and struggle for the weather gage.'

"The proprietor of this colossal hog-sty, with his burnery of bones and other fragrant contrivances, created a stench unknown among men since the bituminous conflagration of the cities of the plain, Sodom and Gomorrah, and which terrible stench, in the language of Sternhold and Hopkins, 'came flying all abroad.' In the keeping of the varying wind this *aria cattiva*, like that from a graveyard surcharged with half-buried corpses, visited from day to day every dwelling, and nauseated every man, woman, and child in the village. Four town meetings were held upon this subject. Roxbury calmly remonstrated, Boston doggedly persisted, and at last, patience having had its perfect work, the carrion carts, while attempting to enter Roxbury, were met by the yeomanry on the line and driven back to Boston. Complaint was made, the grand jury of Norfolk found bills against the owner of the hogs and the city of Boston, both were duly convicted and entered into a written obligation to sin no more in this wise."

Magazine Street, "Powder-House Lane," formerly led to the powder magazine belonging to the State, and had a gate at the present entrance of the street. The magazine stood on what was known as Pine Island, a part of the confiscated estate of Gov. Bernard, now traversed by Swett Street, and was for many years kept by John Read.

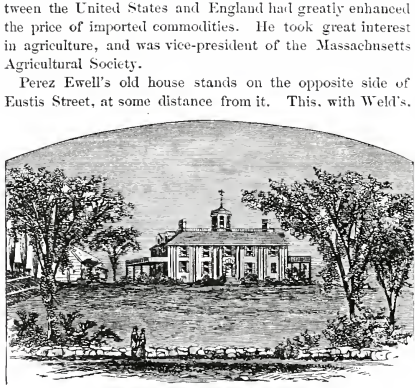
Next comes the Bartlett mansion, built about 1805 by Capt. Thomas Brewer, who perished, as is supposed, about the year 1812 while on a voyage from the Cape of Good Hope to Sumatra. His widow, a venerable relic of the old school of manners, died greatly respected and beloved at Eastport, Me., in 1851, aged eighty. Her father, Andrew Cazneau, a judge of admiralty before the Revolution, and whose property she inherited, died at Roxbury in 1792. From 1822 to 1860, the year of his death, it was the home of Enoch Bartlett, a well-known and highly esteemed citizen. It is at present occupied by a charitable association called "The Little Sisters of the Poor." Mr. Allen Putnam, who married a daughter of Mr. Bartlett, and who administered the estate, found that, adding to the purchase-money of this property compound interest for thirty nine years, brought it to within one thousand dollars of the assessed valuation in 1860. The residence of Mr. Putnam, whose writings upon the subject of Spiritualism are well known, is opposite the mansion house. This estate was formerly John Williams's.

Two of the original "Bartlett" pear-trees, imported by Capt. Brewer, are still in bearing here. This pear, whose size, beauty, and excellence entitle it to the high estimation in which it is everywhere held, originated about 1770 in England, where it was known as "Williams's Bonchretien." When imported its name was lost, and having been cultivated and disseminated by Mr. Bartlett, became so universally known as the Bartlett pear that it was found impossible to restore its old name.

Mr. Bartlett, who was a Boston merchant, laid the founda-

tion of his fortune by bringing to the United States a cargo of English goods just when the breaking out of the war between the United States and England had greatly enhanced the price of imported commodities. He took great interest in agriculture, and was vice-president of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society.

Perez Ewell's old house stands on the opposite side of Eustis Street, at some distance from it. This, with Weld's,



EUSTIS HOUSE.

White's, Dr. Williams's, Stephen Williams's, and the Eustis house, were all the houses between the burying-ground and Dorchester at the beginning of the century. Ewell married a daughter of Stephen Williams, the tanner, who lived in the old farm-house, since the residence of Samuel Walker, Esq.

On Shirley Street, some twenty-five rods north of Eustis Street, is the house built by Gov. Shirley about the middle of the last century, its oaken frame and other materials, even the bricks, which were of three different sizes, having, it is said, been brought from England at a vast expense. Shirley Place, for so the governor styled it, is a large, square, two-

story, hip-roofed structure, with a stone basement, having a piazza at each end, and is surmounted by an observatory enclosed with a railing. This is the most elaborate and palatial of the old Roxbury mansions, and notwithstanding the vicissitudes it has undergone, is extremely well preserved. One of its peculiarities is its double front; that facing the harbor, on the side farthest from the road, being undoubtedly the true one. The upper windows on this side afford a fine view of the city, the harbor, and the islands. Each front is approached by a flight of stone steps, flanked by an iron railing of an antique and solid pattern, but now rusted by the elements.

Entering the northern or proper front you find yourself in a spacious hall of grand proportions. To the right a broad staircase leads to a balcony extending around to the left, where two doors open into the guest-chamber in which Washington, Franklin, Lafayette, Daniel Webster, and many other celebrated men have from time to time been accommodated. From this balcony the musicians entertained the company seated at the table in the hall. The carved balusters around the staircase and gallery are of three different patterns, and the rail surmounting them is inlaid at the top. The base of the balustrade and staircase is also adorned with a carved running vine. The ceiling around the main hall is beautifully stuccoed, and its floor was originally painted to represent a carpet. To the right and left of the hall are doors leading into the reception-room, parlors, etc. The southwest room, which was Madam Eustis's, contained a secretary which was the gift of Dr. Joseph Warren to her husband when a student of medicine with him. On the Dudley Street front is a small hall paved with marble. Upon great occasions the two halls were thrown into one by opening the folding-doors between. The fireplaces were ornamented with Dutch tiles, but when the house was sold in 1867 it was completely denuded of these by those modern Goths and Vandals, curiosity and relic hunters.

The old house seems queerly constructed, so numerous are its apartments and so full is it of doors and closets: many of the latter are let into the solid walls. The wine-closets in the guest-chamber could doubtless tell of many a convivial gathering, and of mirth and jollity unbounded in the time gone by.

Col. Thomas Dawes told Gen. Wm. H. Sumner that he was one of the masons that helped build the house. Said he, "You will see, if you go into the stone basement story, a hall or entry running through its centre, kitchens and other necessary offices on one side, and the servants' rooms on the other." These features necessarily disappeared when the building was removed. To insure warmth it was built of brick and covered with wood. A lawn of considerable extent fronted the house. It was said to have been levelled by soldiers returned from the Louisburg expedition. Mr. Aaron D. Williams often heard his father speak of having seen the soldiers at work there.

On the east side ran the brook forming the boundary between Roxbury and Dorchester, but which now flows through the sewer. A magnificent willow marks the westerly end of a small pond through which the brook formerly flowed. A much larger pond, which was on the north side of the estate, about where Woodward Avenue enters George Street, has been filled up, and like the larger part of the estate is now covered with houses. Of the terraces that formerly extended from the brook to the hill on the west side of the estate, only three east of the house remain.

Shirley's first purchase was of Gen. Samuel Waldo, second in command of the Louisburg expedition, on Nov. 22, 1746, of a dwelling-house and thirty-three acres, bought by Waldo in 1729 of Rev. James Allen, the first minister of Brookline, and a native of Roxbury. In September, 1756, he bought the land on the south side of the road, formerly Nathaniel Williams's, extending from Col. Hatch's on the east to Dennis Street on the west.

In 1764 the estate was bought by Judge Eliakim Hutchinson, Shirley's son-in-law. He became a member of the governor's council, and chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Suffolk, and died in June, 1775. Having been a loyalist, his estate was confiscated, the purchaser, in September, 1782, being the Hon. John Read, a gentleman of considerable political prominence in Roxbury in his day. During his residence here Major Read dispensed an elegant hospitality, the memory of which long lingered in the recollection of the past generation. He subsequently resided in Dennis Street, where Mrs. James Huckins now lives, in a house built by him for his son.

Made a barrack for our soldiers in 1775, it was greatly injured thereby. Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment marched to Dorchester Heights from its quarters here, on the evening of March 4, 1776. In 1791 Read sold the mansion and a part of the grounds to a widow, a French refugee, Madame Bertelle de Fitzpatrick, *née* Bovis, from whose hands it passed, two years later, into those of Giles Alexander. Among the exiles driven from their native land by the French Revolution, who took refuge in Roxbury, I find the names of Dr. Leprilete, M. Dubuque, M. de Salaberi, and Peter F. C. Delesdernier.

Of Giles Alexander, tradition says that he treated his wife so ill, that one evening a party of young men of some of the best families in Boston came disguised to his house, broke off the heads of two stone lions who kept guard at the front gate, and wound up their frolic by bestowing upon the obnoxious proprietor a complete suit of tar and feathers. A "labyrinth" in the grounds in front of the house constituted the limit of Mrs. Alexander's prescribed bounds for out-door exercise.

This Boston notion of tarring and feathering is humorously described in Foote's play of the "Cozeners." There the cozener, Mr. Flaw, promises to the Irishman, O'Flanigan, a tide-

waiter's place in the *inland* parts of America, and he adds, "A word in your ear! If you discharge well your duty you will be found in tar and feathers for nothing. When properly mixed they make a genteel kind of dress which is sometimes worn in that climate. It is very light, keeps out the rain, and sticks extremely close to the skin." The practice became so prevalent here as to qualify the ancient saying, that "man is a two-legged animal without feathers."

Shirley Place was afterward occupied by M. Dubuque, who emigrated from Martinique, and whose cook, named Julien, kept the celebrated restaurant in Boston, at the corner of Milk and Congress Streets. Upon the lawn in front of the house a novel sight was in his day presented to the descendants of the Puritans, — that of ball-playing Sunday afternoons. In 1798 the estate was purchased of Giles Alexander, Jr., by Capt. James Magee, a convivial, noble-hearted Irishman, a shipmaster in the employ of Thomas H. Perkins, and who, while in command of the privateer brig "General Arnold," had been shipwrecked near Plymouth, Mass., in the winter of 1779. The brig was driven ashore in a terrible snow-storm. So intense was the cold that seventy-eight of the crew were frozen to death, and from the merciless pelting of the waves, which froze hard to them, they looked rather like solid statues of ice than human bodies. The survivors, twenty-eight in number, who had been huddled together on the quarter-deck, with no extra clothing, with no shelter but the skies, and no food for three days, were finally rescued by the men of Plymouth. All that was saved from below was a keg of rum, of which all who drank, after a brief excitement, sank into a stupor from which they never awoke. The others made a wise and salutary use of it by pouring it into their boots.

In August, 1819, soon after his return from the mission to Holland, Gov. Eustis bought the property of Magee's widow, and there passed the remainder of his days. After the decease of Mrs. Eustis, the estate was sold at auction in August,

Hon. William Shirley, Esq.

1867, and cut up into house-lots. In order to lay out Shirley Street the mansion house was moved a little to the southeast. An elm-tree marks the place near which stood its northerly corner. The adjacent hill has been dug away to the level of the street, so that at present nothing of the old attractiveness of the place remains. A fine large painting, "The Carnival of Venice," that hung in the main hall, was sold at the same time as the house.

William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts from 1741 to 1756, was the son of a London merchant, who by marriage became possessed of the estate of Otehall in the parish of Wivelsfield, Sussex, England. He was educated at Cambridge, and designed for the bar, where his superior talents and address procured him the notice of Sir Robert Walpole, and of the Duke of Newcastle, who afterwards gave him his appointment of governor. Arriving at Boston, in August, 1731, with a friendly letter of introduction from Newcastle to Gov. Belcher, he practised law with success, and had established such a reputation for character and ability that the news of his appointment to the chief magistracy in 1741 was received with general favor.

He was the prime mover in the successful expedition against Cape Breton in 1745, which resulted in the capture of Louisburg, one of the strongest fortifications in America, by a force of four thousand New England men led by Col. William Pepperell, aided by a small British fleet under Com. Warren. Such was the popularity of this enterprise that more men volunteered for it than could be received, and in seven weeks three thousand two hundred and fifty men were enrolled in Massachusetts, including two full companies from Roxbury. This brave and determined but wholly undisciplined body embarked from Boston on March 24, 1745. "Pray for us

while we fight for you," was their parting salutation as they left behind them their families, their firesides, and their friends.

Dr. William Douglass, a man of learning but of strong prejudices, ridiculed the idea of the Louisburg expedition, as did even the sagacious Dr. Franklin in one of the wittiest letters he ever wrote. But the spirit of New England was up; the celebrated preacher, Whitefield, furnished the motto. "*Nil desperandum Christo duci*," giving to the expedition the air of a crusade; made a recruiting-house of the sanctuary; and not only preached *Delenda est Carthago*, but Parson Moody, one of his followers, joined the troops as chaplain, and actually carried an axe on his shoulder with which to hew down the Catholic images in the churches of the fated city.

After Pepperell's nomination to the command, Shirley wrote to Gov. Wentworth, of New Hampshire, offering it to him, undoubtedly supposing that the governor's gout would make the proposition safe. But in this he was mistaken. Wentworth flung away his crutches and offered his services, and Shirley had the mortification not only to make him an apology, but to tell him that any change in the command would hazard the expedition.

In spite of the formidable obstacles to be overcome, the victorious New-Englanders entered the city as conquerors, after a siege of less than two months, on the 17th of June, a day destined to become doubly memorable for Americans thirty years later. The success of the plan was in great measure due to the celerity with which it was carried out, the French being totally unprepared.

Shirley went to England in September, 1749, and was soon after appointed one of the commissioners to settle the American boundaries, spending much time in France with little success. At the age of threescore he was captivated with the charms of a young girl, his landlord's daughter, in Paris, married her, and in August, 1753, brought his young wife, who

was a Catholic, to Boston, to take precedence in the society of the Puritan matrons of Massachusetts. — a most ill-judged step, which he had reason to repent as long as he lived.

When Franklin was in Boston in 1754, he had several interviews with Shirley, who communicated to him "the profound secret," "the grand design" of taxing the colonies by Act of Parliament. Shirley was a strong advocate of the prerogative of the king and the power of Parliament, and in 1756 advised the Ministry to impose a stamp tax in America.

Washington visited him in March, 1756, and related to him the circumstances of his son's death, at the battle of the Monongahela, where Gen. Braddock was defeated and killed. He was well received and much noticed by the governor, with whom he continued ten days, mixing constantly in society, visiting Castle William and other objects worthy of notice in the vicinity, little dreaming that it would one day become the theatre of his first great military achievement. In a letter to his friend Fairfax, he says, "I have had the honor of being introduced to several governors, especially Mr. Shirley, whose character and appearance have perfectly charmed me. His every word and action discover in him the gentleman and politician."

In February, 1755, he was made a major-general, with the superintendence of military operations in the Northern colonies. While holding the chief command, the loss of Oswego was unjustly attributed to him, and he was in 1756 superseded in his command and in the government of Massachusetts, and ordered to England. He was triumphantly vindicated, and two years later was appointed governor of the Bahamas. He was made a lieutenant-general in 1759.

He returned from the Bahamas in June, 1769, and for the short remainder of his life resided in his former mansion in Roxbury, then occupied by his son-in-law, Judge Hutchinson. Here he died on March 24, 1771, a poor man, and was interred in the burying-ground of King's Chapel, of which edifice he had

laid the foundation-stone. His funeral was attended by the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, then commanded by Capt. William Heath, and three volleys were fired over his grave. While the long procession was moving, a detachment, under Lieut. Sellon, discharged at intervals seventy-six guns, to denote the governor's age. Shirley was a man of great industry and ability, but though able, enterprising, and deservedly popular, was ambitious in a degree disproportionate to his powers.

Hon. John Read, a native of Woburn, and at one time the owner and occupant of the Shirley mansion, died in Roxbury on Jan. 13, 1813, aged eighty-five. In 1740, after the prevailing epidemic had carried off several of the family, he was taken by the wife of Daniel Bugbee, of Roxbury, his mother's sister, who carried him before her on horseback to her residence in Roxbury, where he lived till his majority, and learned the trade of a tanner with Mr. Williams. He was for many years agent for Gov. Bowdoin's Elizabeth Island estate, and while land agent for the State, named Bowdoinham, Maine, in honor of his early patron. Readfield, Me., was named for him. Settling in Roxbury, he became one of her leading and most distinguished citizens; was frequently a selectman and a representative, and was also a member of the governor's council. He was known as Major Read, from having been a paymaster of militia before the Revolution. His was a long, honorable, and useful career. His brother James commanded a regiment at Bunker's Hill, and in 1776 was made a brigadier-general

John Read, son of the Hon. John, was a wine-merchant of Boston, a man of elegant manners and of marked and varied accomplishments. Copley's portrait of him at the age of seventeen, now in possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Paul Willard, exhibits him as a youth of remarkable elegance and grace. He was a large land-owner in Roxbury, the Haskins estate, a portion of the Perrin estate, and much of the

land through which Dennis Street and Blue Hill Avenue run, having been in his possession. He resided on Dennis Street in the house built for him by his father, now the residence of Mrs. James Huckins, where he died in 1826. The powder magazine on Pine Island was for many years under his charge. Read and his neighbor, Gov. Eustis, were great cronies, and tradition says they occasionally enlivened their leisure with cards and with cock-fighting, accounted a gentlemanly amusement in those days. His son, George Read, a highly respected, genial man, was a famous sportsman. In the Natural History building in Boston is a fine specimen of an eagle that belonged to him, and which the eminent naturalist, Audubon, copied for his great work.

Gov. William Eustis was, like his predecessor in the chair of state, Gov. Brooks, a medical practitioner. Graduating at Harvard, he studied under Dr. Joseph Warren; was professionally engaged at the Lexington battle, and served as a surgeon throughout the war. Taking a seat in the Massachusetts Legislature in 1788, he thenceforth devoted himself to politics, and became successively a member of Congress, Secretary of War (1809–12), Minister to Holland (1815–18), and governor (1823–5), dying while in office, at the age of seventy-one, on Feb. 6, 1825.

In his profession, Dr. Eustis was faithful, humane, and indefatigable. His urbanity, his social qualities, and his hospitality procured him the acquaintance of many persons of distinction, with whom he kept up a friendly intercourse during his residence in Roxbury. John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Aaron Burr, and John C. Calhoun were among the number of his guests. Eustis was quite tall, elegant in person and graceful in manners, and most agreeable in conversation. His eyes were a dark blue, his complexion florid. Like most of the Revolutionary officers, Eustis returned poor from the army. Speaking of this circumstance, he once said, "With but a single coat, four shirts, and one

pair of woollen stockings, in the hard winter of 1780, I was one of the happiest men on earth."

One of his distinguished visitors was Lafayette, the guest of the nation and his old compatriot in the army, whose arrival in Roxbury was an occasion of such magnitude as to be yet freshly remembered by many among us. He passed through the town at about one o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, Aug. 24, 1824, accompanied by a cavalcade of citizens and announced by a salute from the Roxbury artillery, fired from the old fort, and also by the ascent of rockets from an eminence in the centre of the town, thus sounding the note of preparation for the parade of the succeeding day.

GOV. EUSTIS.

The meeting of Lafayette and Eustis, at the mansion of the latter, was extremely affectionate and interesting. They embraced each other for some minutes, Eustis exclaiming, "I am the happiest man that ever lived!" After breakfasting together, they were escorted by the Norfolk Guards, the Dorchester Rifles, and by a cavalcade to the Boston line, where the city authorities were awaiting Lafayette's arrival. The houses and streets on the route of the procession were crowded in every part. An arch thrown across Washington Street at the site of the old fortification was inscribed with these lines, written by Charles Sprague: —

"Welcome, Lafayette!
The fathers in glory shall sleep
Who gathered with thee to the fight.
But the sons will eternally keep
The tablet of gratitude bright.
We bow not the neck and we bend not the knee.
But our hearts, Lafayette, we surrender to thee."

On the following Friday he was entertained at the governor's residence. Col. Hamilton, of the Exchange Coffee-House, the caterer for the occasion, was told that no trouble was to be given to Mrs. Eustis, except that which should result from the use of the house. Said the governor, "They may have my kitchen and my parlors and my chairs and table; but as to having my knives and forks and plates and dishes, they shall not have one of them. My decanters I will fill with wine and other suitable liquors, which shall be delivered in proper order to place upon the table." This anxiety about his spoons was surely a poor compliment to his distinguished guests, and hardly in keeping with the governor's usual hospitality.

At the dinner the plates were placed on the outside of a horseshoe table in the hall, leaving the inside open for the attendance of the servants and the change of dishes. There were between thirty and forty guests, the governor taking his position at the head of the table, with Lafayette on his right, Gen. Dearborn on his left, Ex-Gov. Brooks second on the right, the lieutenant-governor and the council, the military staff and other guests on either side.

While a guest of the governor's, Lafayette attended at a target practice by the artillery, at Savin Hill, Dorchester, and put a shot through the target nearly in the centre. The New England Guards were at that time encamped there, and an immense concourse of people were in attendance. Orderly Sergeant Watson Gore aimed the piece with which Lafayette made his successful shot. During Lafayette's visit the Cadets were encamped upon the governor's grounds. Forty

years before, the general had visited Boston, after an absence of two or three years, and had been received at Roxbury by a number of officers of the Continental army, with an address of welcome by Gen. Knox.

After making a tour through the States, Lafayette returned to Roxbury, where he passed the night of the 16th of June, 1825, and the next morning was escorted to Bunker's Hill, where he assisted in laying the corner-stone of the Monument. He was everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm, and a badge universally worn bore the words, "Welcome Lafayette."

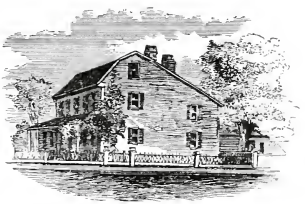
An amusing story, illustrating Lafayette's tact and readiness, is told by a gentleman who accompanied him in his progress through the country. The general made it a point to say something agreeable to every one to whom he was introduced, a somewhat difficult task. Upon one occasion in a ball-room, to his question, "Are you married?" upon receiving the gentleman's affirmative reply, he shook him warmly by the hand, exclaiming, "Happy man!" The same question eliciting a different response from the next subject, might have nonplussed any other man; not so the general. With a still more emphatic shake of the hand, he whispered in his ear loud enough to be heard by his companion, "You 're a lucky dog!" The difference between the two conditions has never, we think, been more felicitously expressed.

After the governor's death, his widow, a most elegant and accomplished woman, who survived him many years, would suffer nothing of his to be moved from its accustomed place. Hat, cane, and tobacco-box occupied their usual corner of the hall, just as they were wont to do forty years before, and as though the arrival of the master of the house was still momentarily expected.

Dennis Street formerly extended through Quincy to Warren Street, and was called Read's Lane prior to 1825, when it received its present name, from a tradition that Dennis,

an old negro, who once lived here, had performed some important service to the patriot cause. There exists nothing in verification of this tradition, but opposed to it is the fact that the Denison family owned a large tract of bottom or low land through which the street runs, and that before it was named Read's Lane, it bore the designation of "Denison's Bottom Lane." Its name should be changed to Denison Street, in memory of that distinguished family, of whom no memorial at present exists in Roxbury.

"In Nov. 1697," says the old record, "there being an ancient record of a highway from Giles Payson's Corner, to the house formerly Robinson's, now Deacon Williams's, and so forward to Brantry Road, two rods wide, said highway is confirmed from the corner of Stephen Williams's Pasture to Brantry, and between the land of William Denison and Stephen Williams." The town, in 1785, voted to lay open this road from Mr. John Williams's house, near Dorchester Brook, across to the upper road by the house of Daniel Holbrook. The Holbrook estate, containing thirty-seven acres, lay partly in Roxbury and partly in Dorchester.



THE OLD WILLIAMS HOUSE.

The old farm-house on the easterly corner of the street had been in possession of the Williams family from time immemorial, and was included in Gov. Shirley's last purchase. It is probably the oldest building in this part of the

town, the rear portion being quite venerable. The masonry at the base of the chimney is exceedingly massive, as are also the heavy oak timbers of the frame. Stephen Williams, the tanner, lived here for many years. In 1826 it became the property of Mr. Samuel Walker, who expended $6,000 on it in improvements and repairs, and established a nursery upon the grounds. This well-known horticulturist and citizen came here from England in 1825; succeeded Gen. Dearborn as mayor of the city in 1851, continuing in office until 1854; was a State senator in 1860, and died at his residence, on Dec. 11, 1860, aged sixty-seven. His family still reside in the old house.

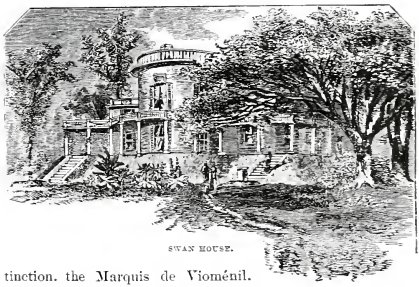
The fine large mansion on the left, within the limits of Dorchester, occupied many years by the brothers Taylor, was formerly the residence of Perez Morton, speaker of the House of Representatives from 1806 to 1811, and attorney-general of the State from 1811 to 1832. He died here in 1837. He married Sarah Wentworth Apthorp, who earned by her poetic merit the title of the "American Sappho." The seduction of a near and endeared relative is said to have formed the ground-work of the first American novel, "The Power of Sympathy," written by Mrs. Morton in 1787, and so effectually suppressed that scarcely a copy remains.

The estate on the southerly side of Dudley Street, once owned and occupied by Col. Estes Hatch, a part of which lies in Roxbury and a part in Dorchester, comprised about sixty acres, and included Swan's woods, formerly called "Little Woods," a portion of which is still in its original condition.

Col. Hatch commanded the Troop of Horse, in Boston, led a company at the capture of Louisburg, and died in 1759. His son Nathaniel, a Tory, accompanied the British troops to Halifax in 1776. His estate was confiscated, and in 1780 was bought of the State for £18,000 by Col. James Swan,

who very soon afterward offered it to Gov. Hancock for £45,000, a moderate advance, but the latter declined to purchase. Writing to Hancock in regard to the property, Swan says, "I have built an elegant and very expensive house upon it, including in one, a coach-house, two stables and a hay loft, with a servants' chamber and pigeon-house. The mansion house can be refitted in as elegant a manner as it once was for about £4,000."

During his brief residence here, Swan made the house a seat of hospitality, entertaining among other persons of dis-



SWAN HOUSE.

tinction, the Marquis de Vioménil, second in command of Rochambeau's army, Admiral d'Estaing, the Marquis de Lafayette, and Gen. Henry Knox. When Swan went to France, the house and farm were advertised as to let, possession to be given on April 1, 1789.

The present mansion house, known as the Swan House, was built about the year 1796, upon an elevated and attractive site, nothing about it indicating the fact that it stands on a ledge of rocks. Its prominent feature is a circular dining hall, thirty-two feet in diameter, crowned at the height of

twenty-five feet by a dome, and having three mirror windows. Perhaps some French château furnished its model, for it contained no fireplaces or heating conveniences of any kind.

Much elegant furniture, family plate, and many fine paintings once embellished its interior, which, it was said, were stored in one of Swan's vessels at Paris at the commencement of the French Revolution, and as their owners perished during the Reign of Terror, they were never reclaimed. Between Madame Guillotine who took off their heads, and Swan who took off their trunks, little was left of these unfortunate Frenchmen. Upon the decease of Mrs. Sargent, Swan's daughter, this with the other property was distributed among the heirs, Mrs. Bartol, Mrs. Sullivan, and Rev. John T. Sargent. Many quaint old images were originally set up around the grounds. The stone pedestals, curiously carved, yet remain, but the sculptured forms that once adorned them long since disappeared. A portion of this estate is now the property and residence of Mr. William Gray, Jr.

Swan's career was an extremely checkered one. He was a merchant, politician, soldier, and author before the age of twenty-two, and after acquiring a fortune in a foreign land, passed the last twenty-two years of his life in one of its prisons. A native of Fifeshire, Scotland, he came in early youth to Boston, where he was a clerk in a store at the same time as Henry Knox, Benjamin Thompson, and others who subsequently attained celebrity. Our first public knowledge of him is when, at the age of eighteen, his proposals were published in the "Boston Gazette" of March 30, 1772, for printing —

"A Dissuasive to Great Britain and her Colonies from the Slave Trade to Africa, by James Swan, a friend to the welfare of the Continent. To be published by subscription, one pistareen each book."

As might be expected of one who, young as he was, had taken so bold a stand for human freedom, he was one of the

Tea Party in December, 1773. He accompanied Warren as a volunteer aid to Bunker's Hill, and was wounded at his side; took part as a captain of artillery in the expedition which, early in 1776, drove the British fleet out of Boston Harbor; was secretary to the Board of War of Massachusetts in 1777, and was afterwards adjutant-general of the State.

Deeply in debt, he went, in 1787, to Paris with letters to Lafayette and other influential men, soon acquired reputation and a fortune, and after a visit to the United States, returned to Europe in 1798 and engaged in commercial affairs of great magnitude. Before 1794 he had paid all his debts, even those from which he had previously been discharged. On the claim of a German, with whom he had large dealings, Swan was imprisoned in St. Pelagie in 1808, and remained there until his liberation, keeping up all the while an indefatigable litigation in the French courts. His long detention was partly voluntary, since his fortune would have enabled him to have procured his release on payment of the claim against him. This, however, he refused to do, believing it unjust, and judgment was finally rendered in his favor. Manly in person and dignified in manner, Swan was also a man of great enterprise and benevolence. His widow, who was a very eccentric person, resided here until her decease in 1825. Their son James married Lucy, daughter of Gen. Knox.

St. Pelagie, which had seen Madame Roland and the Du-Barry led to the scaffold, and within whose walls the Empress Josephine experienced her first vicissitude of fortune, became later a prison for debtors. Swan's sojourn here has been thus described: —

"Vainly did Lafayette, who often visited him, or his rich friends seek to prevail upon him to escape from this retreat. His lodging was a little cell, modestly furnished, upon the second floor. He was a fine-looking old gentleman, said to resemble in his countenance Benjamin Franklin. The prisoners treated him with great respect, yielding him as much space as possible for air and exercise, clearing a path for him, and even putting aside their little furnaces,

upon which they cooked their meals, at his approach, for fear that the smell of charcoal should be unpleasant to him. He had won their love by his considerate and uniform benevolence. Not a day passed without some kind act on his part, often mysterious and unknown in its source to the recipient. Frequently a poor debtor knocked at his door for bread, and in addition obtained his liberty.

"One creditor only retained the venerable captive, hoping each year to see his resolution give way, and each year calling upon him with a proposal for an accommodation. The director of the prison, the friends of the colonel, and even the jailers urged him to accept the proposed terms, and be restored to his country and family. Politely saluting his creditor, he would turn toward the jailer and simply say, 'My friend, return me to my chamber.' Toward the end of the year 1829 his physician had obtained for him the privilege of a daily promenade in one of the galleries of the prison where he could breathe a purer atmosphere than that to which he had long been subjected. At first he was grateful for the favor, but soon said to the doctor, 'The inspiriting air of liberty will kill my body, so long accustomed to the heavy atmosphere of the prison.' The Revolution of July, 1830, threw open his prison doors in the very last hour of his twenty-second year of captivity. After the triumph of the people he desired to embrace once more his old friend Lafayette. He had that satisfaction upon the steps of the Hotel de Ville. The next morning he was dead."

Gen. Henry Jackson, a frequent visitor at Madam Swan's, was buried in a tomb near the house, removed when Woodward Park was laid out through the place. An inscription upon it, stating that it was erected by the hand of friendship, closed with some eulogistic verses to the memory of the

"CHRISTIAN, SOLDIER, PATRIOT, AND FRIEND."

Jackson, who had served with reputation as a colonel in the Revolutionary army, and who as the agent of the government had superintended the construction of the frigate "Constitution," was a bachelor, a man of wit and gallantry, convivial to a fault, and was nearly as corpulent as his bosom friend Gen. Knox himself. "Can he still eat down a plate of fish he can't see over, God bless his fat soul?" was the significant query of Gen. Greene in a familiar letter to the latter.

## CHAPTER V.

### BURIAL-GROUND TO DUDLEY STREET.

Hagborne. — Danforth. — Davis's Store. — Robert Calef. — Witchcraft. — Cotton Mather. — Wonders of the Invisible World. — More Wonders. — Calef's Book burnt. — George Burroughs. — Dorr. — Fox. — Willard. — Social Library. — Roebuck Inn. — Gov. Sumner's Birthplace. — Gen. Greaton. — Old Red Tavern. — Deacon Monroe. — Capt. Joseph Weld. — Elder Heath. — Bowles. — Greyhound Tavern. — Fire-engines. — Welde. — Walter. — Eliot. — Indian Bible. — Gookin. — Old Grammar School.

RESUMING our journey along the old town street, both sides of which were formerly lined with buttonwood-trees, we have on our left, between Eustis and Dudley Streets, the homesteads of Hagborne, Hewes, Peacock, Thomas Welde, and Eliot, the original proprietors of the land between the street and the training-field.

Samuel Hagborne, one of the wealthiest of the early inhabitants of Roxbury, was the original owner of the estate of nine acres on the east side of Washington Street from the corner of Eustis to a point opposite Vernon Street, extending back to the training-field. He also owned fifty-six acres of upland and marsh upon Smelt Brook, known as Hagborne's Neck. To Hagborne belongs the credit of founding the free school in Roxbury, the first mention of such an institution occurring in his will, made in 1642, providing an annual payment for that purpose "out of my great desire to promote learning for God's honor and the good of his church," when one should be "set up." A further indication of his appreciation of education is found in his will, in which he says, "My greate desire is that one sonne be brought up to learn-

ing if my estate will afforde it." He died in January, 1643, and his widow Catharine afterwards married Gov. Thomas Dudley. His dwelling-house, which stood near the Eustis Street corner, had been in 1659 "lately consumed by fier."

In 1657 this estate was purchased by Rev. Samuel Danforth, after whose decease it became the property of Edward Dorr, who in May, 1707, sold the northerly part of it to Robert Calef.

A native of Framlingham, England, Samuel Danforth was brought to New England by Nicholas, his father, in 1634, and graduated at Harvard in 1643. Rev. Mr. Welde having returned to England, Danforth on leaving college was invited to assist Eliot, and the evangelical employments of the latter among the Indians having rendered a colleague necessary, he was ordained at Roxbury on Sept. 24, 1650.

"On the 11th of the 9th mo. 1651," says the town record, "there was voted a levy upon all the inhabitants for the raysing of 50 pounds, towards the building or buying of an house for Mr. Danforth our pastor." This was nine years prior to his purchase of Capt. Joseph Weld's house, in which he finally resided. Here he continued until his decease, and neither "the incompetency of the salary," nor "the provocation which unworthy men in the neighborhood sometimes tried him withal, could persuade him to remove unto more comfortable settlement."

Evidence of his uncomfortable proximity to the Greyhound Tavern, hinted at above, is also seen in the fact that he exerted his influence to have such persons only keep houses of public entertainment as would "keep good order and manners in them"; and when from his study window, "he saw any town dwellers trifling there, he would go over and chide them away." What with the venerable apostle Eliot on one side and the godly Danforth upon the other, the tavern roisterers would seem to have been under a pretty thorough surveillance.

Danforth's sermons were usually enriched with forty or

fifty passages of Scripture. Cotton Mather says, "He was very affectionate in his manner of preaching, and seldom left the pulpit without tears." He thus alludes to his astronomical studies: —

> "Non dubium est quin eò iverit quo stella eunt,
> DANFORTHUS, qui stellis semper se associavit";

and with his accustomed quaintness adds, "Several of his astronomical composures have seen the light of the sun." He published a particular account of the comet of 1664, and a series of almanacs. That part of the diary in the church records written by him is filled with accounts of comets, earthquakes, prodigies, and other phenomena of nature. In the church record, under date of Nov. 19, 1674, Eliot writes this touching passage: —

"Our Rev. pastor, Mr. Samuel Danforth, sweetly rested from his labors. It pleased the Lord to brighten his passage to glory. He greatly increased in the power of his ministry, especially the last summer. He cordially joined with me in maintaining the peace of the churches. We consulted together about beautifying the house of God, with ruling elders, and to order the congregation into the primitive way of collections." "My brother Danforth," said he, "made the most glorious end that I ever saw."

Welde thus eulogizes him in verse that reminds us that his decease immediately followed the completion of the new church edifice: —

> Mighty in scripture, searching out the sense,
> All the hard things of it unfolding thence;
> He lived each truth, his faith, love, tenderness,
> None can to th' life as did his life express.
> Our minds with gospel his rich lecture fed,
> Luke and his life at once are finished.
> Our new-built church now suffers, too, by this,
> Larger its windows, but its Lights are less."

Danforth's remains were laid in Gov. Dudley's tomb, his funeral being celebrated "with a great confluence." A public collection was taken up for the widow, a daughter of Rev.

John Wilson, of Boston, the second Sunday following. His son, Rev. John Danforth, was minister of Dorchester from 1682 to 1730. Another son, Rev. Samuel, was minister of Taunton from 1688 to 1727.

The building on the corner, but a small portion of which has survived the widening of Eustis Street in 1856, was the warehouse of Aaron and Charles Davis. The brothers Davis did a large and lucrative business in the early part of the century in packing and shipping provisions, which they carried on many years at the old corner. They were the sons of Capt. Aaron Davis, who lived at the Boston line.

AARON AND CHARLES DAVIS'S STORE.

Allen's furniture store, formerly a gambrel-roof structure, standing end to the street, having its main entrance by a large porch on the south side, though outwardly much altered, has the solid oak timbers and other evidences of being quite old. A century and a half ago this was the residence of James Mears, the tanner. The old tannery, that once stood a little to the south of it, was taken down when Webster Hall was built in 1845. Commodore Loring, the Tory, who lived at Jamaica Plain, served his apprenticeship here.

Despite its commonplace appearance, this ancient building claims our attention. If witches or the powers of darkness ever visited so reputable a town as Roxbury, this of all others is the spot they would instinctively avoid, for here dwelt

Robert Calef, their arch enemy, and here he carried on his trade of clothier, which he had previously pursued for many years in Boston. "Calf," as his enemies loved to call him, deserves everlasting remembrance for the prominent part he took in giving a quietus to the witch business in New England.

He alone had the courage to speak out boldly his own thought and that of many others. In an age of credulity and superstition, he opposed reason and common-sense to fanaticism and delusion, and wrought a revolution in the minds of men which he fortunately lived long enough to see. Of his personal history, we know only that he was a native of England; that his occupations were those of a clothier and husbandman; that he was a selectman of Roxbury, — sufficient proof of the esteem in which he was held by his fellow-citizens; and that he died at his house in Roxbury on April 13, 1719, at the age of seventy-one, and was interred in the old burying-ground hard by.

The situation of the people of Massachusetts at the time the witchcraft delusion broke out was particularly distressing. Privateers infested her coast; French and Indian enemies harassed her frontier; public credit was at a very low ebb, and a strong political party opposed every measure except adherence to the old charter; but worst of all was the apprehension that the Devil was let loose among them. The many were credulous, the few, who believed witchcraft to be imposture or delusion, were afraid to discover their sentiments lest some who pretended to be bewitched should accuse them, and in such case there was no room to hope for favor.

> "This sudden burst of wickedness and crime
> Was but the common madness of the time,
> When in all lands that lie within the sound
> Of Sabbath bells, a witch was burned or drowned."

Such was the condition of the popular mind when Calef's letters to Rev. Cotton Mather, written in 1693 and 1694,

exposed, with merited severity of language and merciless logic, the utter absurdity of the proceedings in the witch trials in Salem, as well as the fallacies upon which they rested; controverted the then prevalent definition of witchcraft, the assumed source of power to produce it; asserted that the Devil had no power to afflict any with diseases or loss of cattle without a commission from the Most High; and demanded Scriptural authority for the use of the revolting indecencies then in vogue, and by means of which it was claimed that witches might certainly be known. One of these epistles closes in these words: —

"And thus, Sir, I have faithfully performed my duty, and am so far from doing it to gain applause or from a spirit of contradiction, that I expect to procure me many enemies thereby, but (as in case of a fire) where the glory of God, and the good and welfare of mankind are so nearly concerned, I thought it my duty to be no longer an idle spectator, and can and do say in this whole affair I have endeavored to keep a conscience void of offence both towards God and towards man."

To single out Mather as an adversary was certainly "taking the bull by the horns," and required some moral courage. No man had spoken or written more fully or plainly than he upon the subject.

> "The only men of dignity and state
> Were then the minister and the magistrate,
> Who ruled their little realm with iron rod,
> Less in the love than in the fear of God.
> And who believed devoutly in the powers
> Of darkness working in this world of ours,
> In spells of witchcraft, incantations dread,
> And shrouded apparitions of the dead."

Mather was a good and a learned man, but withal a great lover of the marvellous and lamentably credulous. At the opening of the trials in Salem the magistrates applied to the Boston clergy for advice, and unhappily that given, drawn up by Mather, was such as to encourage rather than to avert the abominable proceedings.

It is undeniable that his book, entitled "Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft," his prominence in the case of the afflicted Goodwin children, and the zealous and strenuous assertion of his opinions upon this subject, had been influential in preparing the public mind for the terrible scenes that were enacted at Salem village in the previous year, by which twenty innocent persons had been publicly and ignominiously hurried out of existence; and not long after this deplorable tragedy he was found by Calef at the bedside of a young girl in Boston, one Margaret Rule, whose case, similar to that of some of the afflicted girls at Salem, bade fair, under his management, to renew the popular excitement with all its attendant horrors.

To prevent so disastrous a result, Calef drew up an account of her case, viewed from his common-sense standpoint, which was shown to some of Mather's friends. This produced a message from Mather to Calef that he should be arrested for slander, and in which he called Calef "one of the worst of liars." Calef's reply to the angry minister was, to appoint a time and place where the two could meet and compare notes respecting the occurrences in question. Mather sent word that he would meet him. "But instead of doing so," says Calef, "at your and your father's [Rev. Increase Mather] complaint. I was brought before his Majesty's justices by warrant for 'scandalous libels' against yourself, and was bound over to answer at sessions. Accordingly, though I waited at sessions, there was no one to object aught against me, whereupon I was dismissed."

Mather afterwards printed the testimony of several witnesses, who stated that they saw Margaret Rule "lifted up from the bed wholly by an invisible force a great way towards the top of the room where she lay." To this case, of what is now familiarly known in spiritualistic circles as "levitation," Calef, neither denying nor admitting the fact, answers that if it was so, then the Papists, who maintain against the

Protestants that miracles had not ceased, were in the right after all, — a skilful evasion, that, while it left the points in controversy untouched, placed his adversary in an uncomfortable dilemma.

The facts underlying the Salem witchcraft and modern Spiritualism are undoubtedly identical, but both are overlaid and weighted by fraud and imposture. Proper medical treatment of the bewitched girls, and a healthy state of public sentiment respecting religion, would probably have averted the wretched catastrophe. In estimating the progress of the past two centuries in enlightenment, the history of these two movements is eminently instructive. The intimate union existing between the seen and unseen worlds is now a commonly received article of belief among thinkers, and this sentiment of our foremost poet finds almost universal acceptance : —

> "The spiritual world lies all about us,
> And its avenues are open to the unseen
> Feet of phantoms that come and go, and we
> Perceive them not save by their influence, or
> When, at times, a most mysterious Providence
> Permits them to manifest themselves to mortal eyes."

One of the lessons of the Salem tragedy should not be lost sight of. It was brought to a close neither by force of argument nor by pity for its victims, but simply because persons elevated in station began to be accused, and then the moot question as to whether the Devil could afflict in a good man's shape received at once an affirmative reply. Then came the sober second thought, and men began to ask the question, —

> "Were such things here as we do speak about,
> Or have we eaten of the insane root
> That takes the reason prisoner ?"
> "Can such things be
> And overcome us like a summer's cloud,
> Without our special wonder? "

The only reply was, —

> "The earth hath bubbles as the water has,
> And these are of them."

When the storm had nearly spent itself, Mather drew up an account of the trials, published with the title of "Wonders of the Invisible World." The chief point which he considers established by them was, that a great conspiracy existed among the Powers of Darkness to root out the Christian religion from New England.

To Mather's "Wonders," Calef replied with "More Wonders of the Invisible World," published in London, in the year 1700. He opposed facts in the simple garb of truth to fanciful representations, yet he offended men of the greatest learning and influence. "His narrative," says the historian Hutchinson,— excellent authority, and a relative of Mather's, — "gave great offence, he having condemned the proceedings at a time when in general the country did not see the error they had been in, but in his account of facts, which can be evidenced by records and other original writings, he appears to have been a fair relator." He argues the case against the prevalent madness with skill and effect, showing great familiarity with the literature of the subject, and has, to the mind of the unprejudiced reader, an evident advantage over his learned and reverend antagonist, both in argument and temper.

While his language to Mather is invariably respectful, and his animus apparently that of an earnest seeker after truth, Mather, on the contrary, exasperated to the highest pitch by Calef's book, in his diary and elsewhere, betrays the utmost spite and venom whenever its author is alluded to. "That miserable man," "a weaver turned minister," "a wicked Sadducee," "a vile fool," "that instrument of Satan," "a coal from hell," — such are some of the choice epithets hurled at him by the irate divine.

"This vile volume," so he writes in his diary, "he sent to London to be published, and the book is printed, and the impression is this day week arrived here. The books that I have sent over into England, with a design to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, are not

published, but strangely delayed, and the books that are sent over to vilify me and render me incapable to glorify the Lord Jesus Christ, those are published."

Calef was compelled to send his book three thousand miles away to have it printed, no printer in Boston daring to undertake it, and no bookseller there having the hardihood to offer it for sale, or give it shop room. It was regarded by the parishioners of those influential divines, the Mathers, as the most wicked and impudent of slanders.

"My pious neighbors," says Mather's diary, "are so provoked at the diabolical wickedness of the man who has published a volume of libels against my father and myself, that they set apart whole *days of prayer* to complain unto God against him, and this day (Dec. 4, 1700) particularly. . . . I humbled myself before the Lord and confessed and bewailed my sins, which gave a triumph unto his justice in the humbling dispensation which was now upon me. . . . Neither my father nor myself thought it proper for us to publish unto the churches our own vindication from the vile reproaches and calumnies that Satan by his instrument Calf had cast upon us, but the Lord put it into the hearts of a considerable number of our flock who are in their temporal condition more equal unto our adversary to appear in our vindication."

This vindication was entitled "Some few Remarks upon a Scandalous Book," which they called "a firebrand thrown by a madman." Their motto, "Truth will come off conqueror," proved a satire upon themselves, Calef obtaining a complete triumph, his book, which was long read and admired, having been often reprinted.

By order of the president of Harvard College, the Rev. Dr. Increase Mather, the "wicked book" was publicly burnt in the college yard, the scene of the holocaust being the area between Massachusetts, Harvard, and Stoughton Halls. This fact, though not mentioned by any of the historians of that seat of learning, is nevertheless a noteworthy item in the annals of intellectual progress and freedom in New England. A few of Calef's friends stood by him, but almost the

entire community sided at first with his influential clerical opponents, and this no doubt induced his removal from Boston to Roxbury, where we soon afterwards find him.

"More Wonders" has been erroneously attributed to Robert Calef, Jr. There is no difficulty in supposing it to be the work of the mature mind of a man of forty-five, the age of the father, while it is in the highest degree improbable that it could have been the production of a youth of twenty; for in 1693 the second son of a man born in 1648 or 1649 could have been no older. Moreover, the extreme youth of the writer would have afforded Mather the best possible weapon to make use of against his audacious assailant; besides, the name of the author, given upon the title-page, is Robert Calef, and not Robert Calef, Jr.

Rev. George Burroughs, one of the principal victims of the Salem witchcraft, who was convicted mainly on account of his almost superhuman strength, had at one time resided in Roxbury, where he had been admitted a member of the First Church, April 12, 1674.

It only remains for us now to notice the connection between the sturdy opponent of superstition in 1693 and the earliest illustrious martyr in the cause of American freedom in 1775. Mary, the daughter of Robert Calef, was, in 1712, married to Dr. Samuel Stevens, of Roxbury, whose daughter Mary became the mother of Gen. Joseph Warren.

Next beyond the premises once occupied by Calef and by Mears was the mansion and garden of some three or four acres belonging to Edward Dorr, whose possessions originally extended from Eustis Street to a point opposite Vernon. After his death in 1734 the business of tanning was carried on here by his son, Capt. Ebenezer Dorr. Joseph, the grandson of Capt. Ebenezer, who married Anna Ruggles, was the father of Capt. Jonathan and Nathaniel Dorr, well-known citizens of Roxbury. During the last century the Dorr family occupied a prominent position here.

The shop of the painter, John Ritts Penniman, was on the spot now covered by Webster Hall. Some of his pictures of persons and places in old Roxbury yet survive. Penniman was at one time employed by Willard, the clock-maker. In the rear of the wooden building next south of the hall is a fragment of a very old building which not unlikely formed a portion of Calef's premises. Beyond the new "Hotel Comfort" is the dwelling-house once occupied by Zabdiel Adams, father of the well-known physician, Dr. Z. B. Adams, of Boston. His hat store was where Potter's oyster-house is now.

EBENEZER FOX.

Opposite Webster Hall, where Warren's apothecary store is, was the residence and shop of a very deaf old gentleman named Fox, whom very many persons now living well remember. Ebenezer Fox, a native of Roxbury and a resident of the town at the time of his death in 1843, was when a boy an apprentice to a farmer named Pelham, and in his old age published a little volume of "Revolutionary Adventures." Becoming dissatisfied with his situation, and hearing daily complaints of the injustice and tyranny of the British government, —

"I, and other boys," says Fox, "situated similarly to myself, thought we too had wrongs to be redressed and rights to be maintained, and we made a direct application of the doctrines we daily heard in relation to the oppressions of the mother country to our own circumstances, and thought that we were more oppressed than our fathers were."

Fox, and a companion named Kelly who lived with Isaac Winslow, on Meeting-House Hill, formed a plan to leave home privately and make their way to Providence, R. I., where they expected to find employment as sailors on board some vessel. At eight o'clock on the evening of the 18th of April, 1775, the night before the battle of Lexington, they met on the steps of the First Church, and started on their way, each with a small bundle of clothing, and half a dollar in his pocket. After a brief rest on the steps of Dr. Gordon's church in Jamaica Plain, they kept on to Dedham, where they slept on the ground, and early next morning continued their journey. Soon from all quarters came rumors of the Lexington affair, and they were frequently stopped and eagerly questioned, but kept on their way, and finally arriving at Providence, there parted company, Fox shipping as a cabin boy to the West Indies.

Passing over his other adventures we come to his enlistment in the "Protector," a twenty-gun ship commanded by Capt. John Foster Williams, and fitted out by the State of Massachusetts to protect her commerce from British cruisers.

Fox was on board the "Protector" during the action with the "Admiral Duff," and when in a subsequent cruise she was captured he became an inmate of the Jersey prison-ship. His latter years were passed in Roxbury, in the building before us, where until 1837 he kept a crockery-ware store, which was also the post-office while he was postmaster of Roxbury, from 1831 to 1835.

In his old age he was so deaf that in the exercise of this double calling he occasionally made some ludicrous mistakes. A story is told of the old gentleman's responding to a lady's inquiry for a letter with, "Oh yes, ma'am, I've some very nice ones," and mounting some steps, all the while expatiating upon the merits of the article, took down from an upper shelf an assortment of a very useful rather than ornamental utensil of housekeeping, greatly to the disgust of the applicant.

For several generations the Willards have been famous throughout the country, as clock and watch makers, one of their clocks having been placed in the Capitol at Washington, when it was first built, others adorning Harvard College, Jefferson College, Va., the old State House, State Street, Boston, and the First Church, Roxbury.

In the "Boston Gazette" of Feb. 22, 1773, is the following advertisement: —

"Benjamin Willard at his shop in Roxbury Street, pursues the different branches of clock and watch work, and has for sale musical clocks playing different tunes, a new tune every day in the week and on Sunday a Psalm tune. These tunes perform every hour without any obstruction to the motion or going of the clock. A new invention for pricking barrels to perform the music, and his clocks are made much cheaper than any ever yet known. All the branches of this business likewise carried on at his shop in Grafton."

Simon Willard, probably the brother of Benjamin, came to Roxbury in 1780, and occupied the premises north of those where the round clock or dial, his handiwork, yet remains, after the lapse of more than half a century. He learned his trade of an Englishman named Morris, and at the age of fourteen had succeeded in constructing a clock that was pronounced superior to those of his master. Upon the Lexington alarm he volunteered in the Grafton Company, and marched to Roxbury with no other apparel than that in which the summons found him at his bench. On coming to Roxbury, and until in 1802 he received a patent from the government for his improved timepiece, he devoted himself almost exclusively to the manufacture of eight-day clocks, which were for many years, and up to the period of the introduction of pianos, a chief ornament of the parlor. The improved clock soon became a favorite, and is to this day considered the most reliable and accurate timepiece in use.

Mr. Jefferson sent for Willard expressly to construct the clock for his college, and was so much pleased with his skill

that he gave him substantial tokens of his regard. Talking freely with him about a pending treaty, as Mr. Willard refrained from expressing an opinion upon its merits, Jefferson intimated that he knew but little of public affairs. Soon afterwards he desired Mr. Willard to examine a beautiful French clock, and see what was the matter with it. He did so, and on rising to depart left the various parts of the clock scattered about the table. "Don't go, Willard," said the President, "until you have put the works together." "Oh," said Willard, "you can do that." "I cannot." said Mr. Jefferson. "Ah!" said Willard, "you can't put the wheels of a clock together, yet you expected that I could be familiar with treaties."

He constructed the large clock for the Capitol at Washington when at the age of eighty-two. That at the head of State Street, made half a century ago, was one of the last of his works, and the one of all others upon which anxious eyes have been oftenest turned, especially at the approach of its hands to the hour of two P. M., by those with notes to pay, and not yet provided for. Willard's great mechanical skill was manifested also in much of the philosophical apparatus now in use at Cambridge. The celebrated Orrery of Mr. Pope was perfected by him after it had been abandoned as a failure by its inventor. Willard died Aug. 30, 1848, aged ninety-five years four months and twenty-seven days.

Simon Willard, the younger, was orderly sergeant of the Norfolk Guards for more than a quarter of a century. He succeeded to his father's business, which he afterwards carried on in Boston, attaining marvellous skill and accuracy in the manufacture of chronometers, specimens of which are to be found in many of our dwellings. Aaron, the brother of Simon, Sen., and also a clock-maker, who died in 1844, at the age of eighty-seven, first kept where the apothecary shop numbered 2224 Washington Street now is.

The first public library of Roxbury was established in

1805, and was kept in the lower story of the building where the dial is. Reorganized as the "Social Library" in 1831, and as the "Roxbury Athenæum" in 1848, it was incorporated in 1851, and is now located in Guild Row.

Bacon's Block, opposite, is the site of Edward Dorr's residence about the middle of the last century, and also that of Major William Bosson, a veteran of the Revolution, and one of the minute-men at Lexington. Dean's Block, at the corner of Ruggles Street, was formerly a tavern kept by Thomas Mayo, having for its sign a horn of plenty.

The building now Smith's carriage-shop, which like so many others once stood end to the street, is one of the old landmarks, dating back perhaps one hundred and fifty years. During the siege it was doubtless occupied as the quarters of a portion of Col. Ebenezer Learned's regiment, which was stationed at the lines, and which probably filled the few houses then standing in this locality, and temporarily abandoned by their occupants. Nathaniel Felton, scythe-maker, bought the premises of Edward Dorr in 1763. Deacon Joshua Felton carried on the business of a blacksmith here for many years. The brick building beyond, occupying the site of Felton's former residence, was the place of business, half a century ago, of Mr. John Lemist, an active merchant, who was lost in the steamer "Lexington," in Long Island Sound, many years ago.

William Bowman lived in the old house on the corner of Palmer and Washington Streets. Lucy, his widow, the sister of Gov. Sumner, continued to reside here for many years. Their son, a captain in the army, distinguished himself in the last war with England, especially at the battle of Niagara and in the sortie from Fort Erie. The corner of this building, now Mr. John Newton's provision store, was taken off to widen Warren Street a few years since. Half a century ago this was Hazlitt's Tavern, its sign being a deer's head. Afterwards it was known as the "Roebuck Inn," John

Brooks being its landlord. Formerly, the street was nightly filled with market-wagons from this point to the store near the burying-ground, kept by the Davises, who carried on an extensive barter trade with the countrymen for their farm produce.

Cobb's grocery store, opposite Warren Street, formerly Deacon Caleb Parker's, was before the Revolution the site of the house of a farmer named Pelham, whose farm was situated near the creek, belonging to the heirs of Rev. Dr. Porter.

In the rear of Hall's Block is an old-fashioned, two-story, gambrel-roofed house, in which, on Nov. 9, 1746, Gov. Increase Sumner was born. It was moved back from the street in 1852, when the block was built, and is not far from one hundred and fifty years old. On either side of the front door were magnificent buttonwoods, that were cut down more than half a century ago. The house is one of the few remaining on Roxbury Street that antedate the siege. The youthful days of the future governor were passed here; here he kept his law office; here his grandfather, Edward Sumner, died in 1763; and here his widowed mother resided until her death.

Increase Sumner, father of the governor, and fourth in descent from William and Mary Sumner who settled in Dorchester in 1635, was a farmer, who, by industry, frugality, and success in subduing his paternal acres and in making rough places smooth, acquired a considerable property. He was a man of colossal size and great strength of muscle. Traditions of wonderful feats of strength performed by him in his youthful days are remembered in Roxbury and its vicinity to this day. After his death, which took place in November, 1774, and the opening of the siege in the following spring, the house being exposed to the shot of the enemy, the family removed to Dorchester and resided temporarily on the farm left by the elder Increase to his son, called "Morgan's," where he built the house now the residence of Hon. Marshall P. Wilder.

On Sept. 10, 1765, John Greaton, Jr., leased of Samuel Sumner for ten years a building where Bampton's store now stands, for the sale of West India goods. Greaton was a prominent "Son of Liberty," was one of the Roxbury committee of fifteen to carry into effect the non-importation agreement, and was an officer in the "Governor's Horse Guards," a Boston organization, composed of the *élite* of the citizens, and forming the escort on all occasions of ceremony or commemoration.

GEN. GREATON.

He was actively engaged in the Lexington battle, in company with his friends and neighbors Warren and Heath, and was successively chosen major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel of Heath's regiment. His commission of colonel, signed by the President of Congress, and dated July 1, 1775, is now in my possession. During the siege of Boston he led several successful expeditions to the islands in the harbor, bringing off live stock and destroying the fodder and other supplies destined for the British garrison in Boston. Heath mentions in his diary for June 27, 1775, that "A redoubt was opened by Col. Greaton at Dorchester Neck, on this side the causeway," and that some cannon-shot, directed toward them by the enemy, fell short.

Taking part in the unfortunate invasion of Canada, he was taken down grievously ill at Fort George, in September, 1776. In a letter to Gen. Heath, dated July 31, 1776, he says, "Our fatigues and hardships have been very great. The men are in very low spirits. You would hardly know the regiment now, it is so altered in every shape."

Joining Washington's feeble army at Morristown in December, Greaton and his men, after sharing in the toils and glories of the Trenton and Princeton campaign, with true patriotism volunteered to remain with the army after the expiration of their term of service, and until reinforcements could arrive. In the campaign ending with the surrender of Burgoyne, we find him doing good service in Nixon's brigade, and as senior officer at Albany, in 1779, he was for a time commander of the northern department. After commanding his regiment during the whole war, he was somewhat tardily rewarded with promotion to the grade of brigadier-general on the Continental establishment on Jan. 7, 1783.

Worn out in the service, Greaton, on the disbanding of the army in October, 1783, returned to Roxbury, where his family had again established themselves, but survived the journey only a short time, and died on the 16th of December following. The remains of this faithful and patriotic soldier repose in the old burying-ground, but no stone marks their resting-place.

In 1760 Greaton was married to Sarah, daughter of Richard and Ann Humphreys. His eldest daughter, Ann, married Samuel Heath, a son of his friend the general. His son, Richard Humphrey Greaton, an ensign in his father's regiment and afterwards a captain in the United States army, was wounded in St. Clair's battle with the Indians, and died at New Orleans in May, 1815. The family is now extinct in Roxbury.

The family tradition is, that on the morning of the Lexington battle, while the men were hastening to the scene of action, and their wives and children, momentarily expecting the onslaught of the king's troops, were making haste to depart also, with little expectation of ever again beholding their deserted homes, Mrs. Greaton, taking her younger children in a cart, together with such indispensable articles as could be carried, made her way to Brookline, the older children walking along by the side of the vehicle.

On the site of Diamond Block there was a very old house, possibly the residence of the Denisons, and in which Edward Sumner lived in 1750. Early in the present century it was known as the old Red Tavern, and was kept by Martin Pierce, the father of Mrs. Lot Young, who recently deceased at the age of ninety-eight. Mrs. Young distinctly remembered seeing Washington when he visited here in 1789. Her mother performed the journey from Swanzy, where the family then resided, to Roxbury, in 1786, on horseback and alone, meeting only a single person, a miller, on the road.

This dilapidated old building was pulled down one night by some young men who thought it too shabby to be seen by Pres. Monroe, on the occasion of his visit to Boston, in July, 1817. The perpetrators of the exploit put up a sign stating that it was done by "Captain Hatchet." Mr. Sumner, the owner of the building, had the reputation of hiding his money in stone walls and other out-of-the way places. "I recollect," said the late John Wells Parker, "of going with a party of youngsters to see if there was any 'treasure trove' on the premises, but the old man soon appeared upon the scene and stoned us away. He could jerk a stone to a great distance."

Between the Denison estate and that of Elder Heath, beginning at Vernon Street, was the homestead, containing two acres of garden and orchard, belonging to Capt. Joseph Weld, a man conspicuous in the early days of the town, and a brother of Rev. Thomas Welde, who lived on the opposite side of the street. He came over in 1633, kept a store on Roxbury Street, and represented the town from 1636 to 1641. In military matters he was quite prominent, having been the first ensign of the Artillery Company in 1638, and also the first captain of the Roxbury Military Company. During her four months' detention "it being winter," and until she was driven into exile, Capt. Weld had the custody of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, a woman "of ready wit and bold spirit," whose unorthodox opinions gave a world of trouble to

our Puritan progenitors. Weld was the firm friend of the apostle Eliot, and is said to have been the wealthiest merchant of his day in New England. Upon one of his many voyages to London he was arrested and placed under heavy bonds, at the suit of Alderman Barclay, whose ship had been seized in New England. Weld having been one of the jury that condemned her. As a recompense for important services to the colony he received from the town the valuable estate in West Roxbury, recently known as the Bussey Farm, which he bequeathed to his son John, who like his father held the rank of captain.

Capt. Weld was interred in the old burying-ground on Eustis Street on Oct. 7, 1646. His widow afterward married Anthony Stoddard, of whom the estate in Roxbury Street was purchased by Rev. Samuel Danforth in 1657. The homestead was many years in the possession of the Bromfield family.

Vernon Street was in the olden time known as the "Way to the Watering-Place," which was at Smelt Brook, a few rods from the street. The brook ran for some distance parallel to the street. Over it was a bridge, beyond which a lane, known as the "Town Lane," led into the country road to Dedham. Prior to 1842, when it received its present name, it was for a brief period known as Norfolk Street.

The large three-story frame building on the same side, beyond Vernon Street, was for over half a century the residence of Deacon Nehemiah Monroe, a well-known citizen, by trade a cabinet-maker, who died here in 1828. It had been the residence of James Orr, blacksmith, who bought it of Edmund Weld.

"Deacon Roe," as he was called, was an odd fish, and something of a humorist, as well as a deacon of Dr. Porter's church. Standing at his doorway one morning, soon after the Universalist Church was built, he was accosted by a stranger, who asked him if he had seen a stray white horse

passing that way. "No," was the reply. "Where had I better look for him?" queried the stranger. "Oh well!" said the deacon. "p'r'aps you'd better go to the Univarsalist grounds, 'bout everything fetches up there nowadays."

A small wooden building, numbered 2331, formerly Hazlitt's Tavern, but kept at the time by Edward Jones, was the place of refuge of the great but eccentric actor, Edmund Kean, when driven by a mob from the Boston Theatre on the night of Dec. 21, 1825. Kean's refusal to play to a thin house on a former occasion was resented at the very first opportunity by the audience, who would not allow him to utter a word, and who drove him from the stage with a shower of projectiles. The crushed tragedian fled hither in disguise, and was taken in a close carriage the next morning from the house of Mr. Jones, to Worcester.

On the southwest corner of Roxbury Street, beginning at Vernon Street, lay the homestead and farm of three acres of Elder Isaac Heath, a native of Nazing, England, by trade a harness-maker, a principal founder of the Grammar School, and one of the fathers of the town, who came over in 1635; his brothers William and Peleg Heath having preceded him.

Heath was a member of the Legislature in 1637-8, and about the same time was made ruling elder, — a special recognition of his prudence, wisdom, and godliness. This office placed him in intimate relations with Eliot, who consulted him in all his plans and difficulties.

The ruling elder occupied an elevated seat between the deacons' seat and the pulpit, and continued in office through life. Elder Heath assisted Eliot in his Indian labors, accompanying him in his toilsome expeditions through the wilderness, and expounded the gospel to the natives. He died Jan. 21, 1660, aged seventy-five. At his decease none were left of his household but his aged widow and his son-in-law, John Bowles, whose children inherited his property. "My will is," so reads a clause in that document, "that John

Bowles shall be mayntayned at Schole and brought up to learning in what way I have dedicated him to God, if it please him to accept him."

The family of Bowles, prominent in town affairs for nearly a century afterwards, resided here. John Bowles, a founder of the grammar school, a ruling elder of the church, and a member of the General Court in 1645, died here 21st September, 1680. Elder Bowles was a leading member of the Massachusetts company for colonizing New England, and was a warm friend of the apostle Eliot, who said of him, "Prudent and gracious men set over our churches for the assistance of their pastors, such helps in government had he (Eliot) been blessed withal, the best of which was the well-deserving Elder Bowles. God helps him to do great things among us." His son, Hon. John Bowles, who married a granddaughter of Eliot's, was in 1690 Speaker of the House of Representatives. He left a son, Major John Bowles, who served the town faithfully in various capacities. From him was descended Capt. Ralph Hart Bowles, a brave Revolutionary officer.

Next in importance to the church as a centre of town life was the public house or inn, the exchange in which, over a mug of ale, were discussed the news, politics, and gossip of the day, and whose social attractiveness made it a source of constant solicitude to the fathers of the town.

Where Graham's Block now stands, opposite Vernon Street, formerly stood the Greyhound Tavern. It had been the site of a public house from a very early period; for Danforth, Eliot's colleague, who lived near it, could from his study window take note of "town dwellers trifling there," and would go over and "chide them away."

"As ancient is this hostelry
As any in the land may be;
Built in the old colonial day,
When men lived in a grander way,
With ampler hospitality.
A kind of old Hobgoblin Hall,

With weather stains upon the wall,
And stairways worn and crazy doors,
And creaking and uneven floors,
And chimneys huge and tiled and tall."

Located as it was on the only road leading to Boston (for there were then no bridges), the Greyhound was a noted resort in the days when public meetings, festive gatherings, and other assemblages of a political, social, or business character were usually held in such places, and being famous for the excellence of its punch, it was much frequented by the convivial spirits of Boston and vicinity.

Joshua Hewes, the original owner of this estate, came over in 1633, probably with Cotton and Hooker in the "Griffin." He was a merchant of large transactions, and held many responsible trusts both public and private. On Aug. 27, 1642, Sergt. Joshua Hewes was directed by the town "to see to it that the people of Roxbury in every house, or some two or more houses, joyne together for the breeding of salt peeter in some outhouse used for poultry or the like, and to give them directions about the same." In 1641 he was a representative to the General Court, and joining the Artillery Company, became a lieutenant in 1643. Quite recently an old gravestone was dug up by workmen excavating for the post-office extension in Post-Office Square, upon which was this inscription: "Here lyeth y^e^ Body of Joshua Hewes aged 66 years. Departed this Life y^e^ 25 day of January 1675."

John Greaton, the last landlord of the Greyhound, licensed as an innkeeper in 1741, was the father of Gen. Greaton. He kept a West India goods store here and also at the South End of Boston. His eldest son, James, a graduate of Yale College, was master of the Roxbury grammar school in 1756–8; rector of Christ Church, Boston, in 1759–67, and afterwards of the church at Huntington, L. I.

Drunkenness was severely punished by the sober, Godfearing men of the early settlement. On March 4, 1633, the Court order that Robert Coles, —

"For drunkenness by him comitted at Rocksbury shal be disfranchised. weare about his necke & soe to hange upon his outward garment a D made of redd clothe & sett upon white, to contynue this for a yeare and not to leave it off att any tyme when he comes amongst company under penalty of XL shillings for the first offence & V pounds the second, & after to be punished by the courte as they thinke meete; also he is to weare the D outwards and is enjoyned to appear at the next Generall Court & to contynue there until the court be ended."

Numberless must have been the "red-letter days" of this unfortunate namesake of "old King Cole," for his name recurs in connection with public admonitions with great frequency in the old records. The scarlet letter is still worn by votaries of Bacchus, with a difference. Instead of being placed upon the neck, it is fastened permanently upon the nose. May not the Puritan legislators have derived their hint from this circumstance?

"In 1637," says Josselyn, "there were in Boston two houses of entertainment called 'Ordinaries,' into which, if a stranger went, he was presently followed by one appointed to that office, who would thrust himself into his company uninvited, and if he called for more drink than the officer thought in his judgment he could soberly bear away, he would presently countermand it, and appoint the proportion, beyond which he could not get one drop."

Innkeepers were forbidden to suffer any to be drunk or to drink excessively; viz., above half a pint of wine for one person at a time, or to continue tippling above the space of half an hour, or at unreasonable times, or after nine of the clock at night. A person found drunk, so as to be thereby bereaved or disabled in the use of his understanding, appearing in his speech or gesture, "had to pay ten shilling or be set in the stocks." Tobacco could not be taken in any inn or "common victual house" except in a private room there. so as neither the master of the said house nor any guest there

"should take offence thereat," under penalty of half a crown. None might retail strong water, wine, or beer, either within doors or without, except in inns or victualling-houses allowed. No beer might be charged higher than two pence the Winchester quart, and innkeepers and other householders were made responsible for the sobriety of their inmates.

As early as 1643 Richard Woody, who dwelt in the immediate vicinity of the Greyhound, had leave from the town "to draw wine." In 1653 leave was given John Gorton and Robert Pepper, "to brew and sell penny beare and cakes and white bread." In 1678, just after the Indian war, intemperance had become so prevalent that the town voted that "neither wine nor liquors shall be sold at any ordinary in Roxbury," and that there should be but one ordinary in the town.

Sewall notes in his diary a visit to this inn. He says: —

"Monday July 11, 1687. I hire Ems coach in the afternoon, wherein Mr. Hezekiah Usher and his wife, and Mrs. Bridget her daughter myself and wife ride to Roxbury and visit Mr. Dudley and Mr. Eliot the father, who blesses them. Go and sup together at the Greyhound Tavern, with boiled bacon and roast fowls. Come home between ten and eleven. Brave moonshine."

In 1752, and for many years subsequently, the Masonic Fraternity celebrated St. John's Day here. Here the Courts were held during the prevalence of small-pox in Boston, in 1764, and here wild animals were occasionally exhibited, as appears by the following advertisement in the "Gazette" of April 20, 1741: —

"To be seen at the Greyhound Tavern in Roxbury, a wild creature which was caught in the woods about 80 miles to the westward of this place, called a catamount. It has a tail like a Lyon; its legs are like bears, its claws like an Eagle, its eyes like a tyger. He is exceedingly ravenous, and devours all sorts of creatures that he can come near. Its agility is surprising, it will leap 30 feet at one jump, notwithstanding it is but 3 months old Whoever wishes to see this creature may come to the place aforesaid paying one shilling each shall be welcome for their money."

The Greyhound was a recruiting station for the Canada expeditions of the old French war. A characteristic figure of that day was the recruiting sergeant. He was a picked man of his corps, had seen service, was erect and soldierly in his bearing and of gentlemanly address. Such a one as we describe, dressed in his trim regimentals, and carrying a cane, might at that time have been seen promenading up and down the quiet town street in front of the old tavern, a fife and drum enlivening the scene, a gaping crowd of boys and idlers following on, and among them perhaps some farmer's son, captivated by the handsome uniform and the jaunty, dashing air of the soldier, and upon whom the crafty sergeant has his eye.

Soon gathering a crowd, he proceeds to business, and enforces the argument with some doggerel verse. These fragments of his siren song have been preserved by the grandson of one who was himself a listener to it: —

"Here 's two guineas on the head of the drum,
For every volunteer that will come,
And enter into constant pay, —
It 's 'over the hills and far away.'
It 's over the hills, it 's over the main,
To Crown Point and Lake Champlain.

"At Quebec there are many stores
Besides great quantities of furs,
We 'll have a share as well as they,
Though its 'over the hills and far away.'"

The most notable of the celebrations of the repeal of the Stamp Act is thus described in the "Massachusetts Gazette" of Aug. 18, 1768: —

"About 5 o'clock, the morning (Aug. 14th) was ushered in by the firing of 14 cannons in Liberty Square, and hoisting the flag on Liberty Tree. At noon several of the principal gentlemen of the town and a great number of other persons of credit assembled at Liberty Hall, where was a band of music, and the much-admired American song was melodiously sung to the great pleasure of a number of gentlemen and ladies who were at the windows of the

houses in the neighborhood as also to a vast concourse of people in the square. Fourteen toasts were then drunk, and after again firing the cannon the gentlemen set out in their chariots and chaises for the Greyhound Tavern in Roxbury, where an elegant entertainment was provided. After dinner the new song was again sung and 45 toasts drunk and the afternoon was spent sociably with great harmony and affection for the liberties of their country. After consecrating a tree sacred to Liberty in Roxbury, they made an agreeable excursion round Jamaica Pond, in which excursion they received the kind salutations of a friend to the cause by the discharge of cannon. It is allowed that this cavalcade surpassed all that has ever been seen in America."

A Tory account says, "The selectmen and representatives of Boston made part of the company with some who were immediate actors in the riot which they were celebrating, and in that which next succeeded." The liberty song spoken of had just been received by James Otis, from its author, John Dickinson. It was first printed on July 4, 1768, and is the earliest of the Revolutionary lyrics to advocate independence and union. It was sung to the tune of "Hearts of Oak." A few stanzas are here given: —

"Come, join hand in hand, brave Americans all,
And rouse your bold hearts at fair Liberty's call.
No tyrannous acts shall suppress your just claim,
Or stain with dishonor America's name.

"In freedom we're born and in freedom we'll live,
Our purses are ready — steady, friends, steady,
Not as slaves but as freemen our money we'll give.

"This bumper I crown for our sovereign's health,
And this for Britannia's glory and wealth,
That wealth and that glory immortal may be,
If she is but just and we are but free.

"Then join hand in hand, brave Americans all!
By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall.
In so righteous a cause let us hope to succeed,
For Heaven approves of each generous deed."

Just after the battle of Lexington, and in pursuance of an agreement with the British General Gage the house of John

Greaton — it had then ceased to be a tavern — was the place appointed by the Massachusetts Congress for the issue of permits to persons wishing to enter the town. It was conveniently situated for this purpose, but as it was much exposed to the shot from the hostile batteries on the Neck, it was shortly afterward torn down. An idea of its size may be formed from the fact that when demolished it was found to contain no less than forty fireplaces. Permissions to enter Boston were thus worded: —

"*Permit A. B. the bearer hereof with his family, consisting of — persons with his effects (fire-arms and ammunition excepted), to pass unmolested into the town of Boston between sunrise and sunset.*

*By order of Provincial Congress.*

*Jos. Warren, Prest.*"

The story of the old hostelry is told. To him that asks the question, "Shall I not take my comfort at mine inn?" it shall be answered, No, thou shalt not. The inns have all gone out. The mirth and jollity, the comfort and content they were wont to bestow, as well as "entertainment for man and beast," all these have suffered a permanent eclipse. Flower de Luce, Punch-Bowl, Peacock, Greyhound, alike with their patrons, have long since passed away,

> "And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,
> Left not a rack behind."

On the site of the Greyhound was located the first fire-engine of Roxbury in 1784, when, agreeably to an act of the General Court, the selectmen appointed the following enginemen, viz.: —

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| John Swift. | Joseph Richardson. | Amos Smith. |
| David Swift. | William Dore. | Aaron Willard. |
| John Williams, Jr. | Joshua Felton. | Wm. Bosson, Jr. |
| Elijah Weld. | Daniel Munroe. | Abel Hutchins. |
| Joseph Weld. | | |

And in 1785 were added the names of —

Capt. SAMUEL MELLISH. JEREMIAH GORE. WILLIAM BLANEY.
Ensign R. H. GREATON. JESSE DOGGETT.

They chose Daniel Munroe, captain, William Bosson, Jr., clerk and treasurer, and adopted rules and regulations. This was subsequently the location of the engine named the "Enterprise." Fire wards were first chosen in 1784. Roxbury has hitherto been exempt from any serious conflagrations. The town records frequently allude to the necessity of providing ladders to facilitate the extinguishing of fires, and in 1746 a legislative enactment affixed a penalty of ten shillings upon every householder, living within ten rods of a neighbor's house or barn, who failed to provide himself with one.

A new fire-engine was, in 1787, established near the Punch-Bowl Tavern. In 1795 the town voted to pay half the expense of repairing the "new" fire-engine in Warren Street (Punch-Bowl Village). The members of this company were.

JOHN WARD. JOSEPH CREHORE. Capt. BELCHER HANCOCK.
ISAAC DAVIS. JAMES PIERCE. Lieut. WILLIAM BOSSON.
JOSEPH DAVENPORT. SAMUEL BARRY.

In 1802 a new engine, called the "Torrent No. 2," was accepted and its company of twenty-one men appointed. A new engine was purchased by subscription in 1819 for No. 1, and the town was asked for land on which to build its house on the northerly corner of the burying-ground, "the hearse-house to be removed."

In 1831 the chief engineer, Joshua B. Fowle, reported that there were in Roxbury seven fire-engines, with four hose-reels attached. They were located as follows: —

No. 1, Dudley St. (new house).
2, Centre St., by Poorhouse.
3 and 4, Jamaica Plain.
No 5, Spring Street.
6, Eustis Street (new house).
7, "Norfolk," at Punch-Bowl.

The first suction engines were made in Roxbury many years ago by William C. Hunneman. Previously the supply of water was brought in buckets and emptied into the "tub."

Passing the Greyhound, we come to the homestead of two acres of the Rev. Thomas Welde, first pastor of the First Church, which was originally the property of Richard Peacock. All the estates on this side of the street, from Eustis to Dudley, extended back to the training-field, and all save Danforth's were in the form of long, narrow strips, running parallel with Dudley Street, and having a depth of nearly one thousand feet. The dwellings were on the street, the gardens and orchards in the rear. Welde's residence was near the northerly corner of Zeigler Street, not far from where the City Hotel stood. This was a brick building, erected for a residence by George Zeigler, about the commencement of the century. The hall of this hotel was prior to 1840 a favorite place for dancing parties and political meetings, the latter being sometimes held on Sunday evening.

Daniel Welde, who lived here at one time, was probably the brother of Rev. Thomas and Captain Joseph. He was chosen by the town in 1654 "to record births and burialls." He was one of the first teachers of the Grammar School in Roxbury, and for his interest in schools the General Court in 1650 rewarded him with two hundred acres of land. He subsequently bought John Watson's place, near Stony River Bridge, where he died July 22, 1666, aged eighty-one.

Rev. Thomas Welde, a native of Tirling, in Essex, England, was educated at the University of Cambridge, and then settled in the ministry in his native place. Incurring the penalties of the laws against Nonconformists, he was obliged to fly for safety to New England. While standing in jeopardy from that arch-persecutor, Laud, Welde and Rev. Thomas Shepard "consulted together whether it was best to let such a swine root up God's plants in Essex, and not give him some check." Arriving at Boston in the "William and Francis," June 5, 1632, he was ordained pastor in July. Eliot being soon after settled as teacher. In 1639 he assisted Eliot and Mather in making the tuneful New Eng-

land Version of the Psalms, which was used for many years in our churches. Their versification was wretched enough, but Welde sometimes wrote with spirit and taste.

Sent in 1641 to England with Hugh Peters, as agent for the colonies, upon the supposition that "great revolutions were now at hand"; that monarchy being then upon the eve of the great civil war, and Bishop Laud's anathemas being no longer a source of anxiety, Welde did not return, but obtained a living at St. Mary's, Gateshead, County Durham, opposite Newcastle, and died in London on March 23, 1661. Welde had given "the greatest encouragement of any man else," says Mather, "for invitation of his friends to come over to New England, yet was it observed true of him which some note of Peter the Hermit, who sounded an alarum and march to all other Christians to the Holy Land, but a retreat to himself." At his departure he left a fine library, for the purchase of which Eliot solicited aid from England. His estate was inherited by his son Thomas, who was made "clerk of the writs" in 1654, was several years a representative, and was an influential citizen.

"Valiant in the faith, a defender of the truth and of the churches in this land, both in the pulpit and with his pen," Welde had great influence with the magistrates, by whom he was frequently consulted, and was naturally conspicuous in the persecution of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson, whom Winthrop called the "American Jezebel." Her claim to this opprobrious title rests upon the fact of her having affirmed that Welde and some other ministers did not preach a covenant of grace, and moreover, to the other fact, that holding opinions not then received by the clergy as orthodox, she dared to express them. The conspicuous and reprehensible part Welde took in the cruel persecution ending in the excommunication and banishment of this gifted woman and her followers, places him in the same category with Laud and other persecutors for opinion's sake.

While a prisoner for four months in the house of Welde's brother, in Roxbury, not even her husband or children being allowed to see her, except with leave of the Court, Mrs. Hutchinson was exposed to the visitations of this "holy inquisitor," whose efforts to convince her of error were, as a matter of course, wholly futile. In the simplicity of his bigotry, Welde was surprised at her hardness of heart in slighting the excommunication of the church. "But," says Mr. Savage, the editor of "Winthrop's Journal" and a descendant of Mrs. Hutchinson, "the blood of this 'Jezebel,' besides being licked by the dogs, was in two generations mixed by intermarriage with that of the more orthodox Welde, his grandson, Rev. Thomas Weld, first minister of Dunstable, having taken to wife a granddaughter of this same outcast from heaven and from the church of Boston."

The "Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians," usually attributed to Welde, was the production of John Winthrop, Welde contributing the preface to the second edition. The discrepancies found in the existing copies of this book were due to the unskilful manner in which, at that time, books passed through the press. Corrections were made while the sheets were being struck off, and the corrected and uncorrected sheets were afterwards bound up indiscriminately. In this way the number of different copies might be multiplied to any extent.

Next to the Welde estate came that of the Rev. Nehemiah Walter, Eliot's colleague and successor. Originally the property of John Woody, it contained two and a half acres, its front extending from Felton's shop to Swain's new building, the northerly limit of Eliot's homestead.

Walter, though of English parentage, was a native of Ireland and a graduate of Harvard College. Before coming to New England he had been trained in one of the best schools in Ireland. At thirteen, he could converse fluently in Latin. Besides his great proficiency in the languages and in the phi-

losophy of his day, he was a superior general scholar. During a sojourn of a few months in Annapolis, Nova Scotia, he obtained such mastery of the French language as enabled him to preach occasionally, in the absence of their pastor, to the French congregation in Boston in their own tongue. Discouraged with the prospect here, he had taken passage in a ship for England, and waited only for a wind, when, on a Saturday afternoon, he received a message from Roxbury desiring of him a sermon on the morrow. The church had for some time been seeking a colleague for their aged pastor, and were much divided in respect to several very worthy candidates, but on hearing Mr. Walter, they hastened to invite him. Their good old minister was so charmed with his preaching that on the first day of hearing him he stayed the church after evening service, and was for putting it immediately to vote whether they would give him a call. Mr. Joseph Dudley (afterwards governor) opposed so sudden a motion, but after a short delay he received a unanimous call, the church making its choice July 15th, and the town in public assembly Sept. 9, 1688, approving and confirming it.

Eliot, then in his eighty-fourth year, presided at his ordination, and for the first time in the Puritan church joined the two offices of pastor and teacher in Mr. Walter. "Brother," said Eliot, "I've ordained you a teaching pastor, but don't be proud of it, for I always ordain my Indians so." Respecting Walter's ordination, Judge Sewall's diary says: —

"Wednesday, Oct. 17, 1688. Ride in the hackney-coach with Gov. Bradstreet and his lady to Roxbury to the ordination of Mr. Nehemiah Walter. Mr. Eliot, Mr. Allen, Mr. Willard also there. Danforth, of Dorchester, laid on hands: Mr. Eliot ordained; Mr. Allen gave the right hand of fellowship, desiring he might keep to Christ's institutions in their purity, for which God's people came over hither. Mr. Walter, giving the blessing, said, 'Happy are they who are faithful in the work Christ calls them to,' etc. The 132d Psalm sung. Dined at Mr. Dudley's; Bradstreet and Eliot sat

at upper end of table. At meeting, in the fore seat, sat Mr. Bradstreet, Danforth, Richards, Cook, Sewall, Wilson, and Gookin. In time of first prayer the governor came by from his progress."

Walter was an admirable preacher, always studying his discourses, which were remarkable for perspicuity and simplicity, and delivering them with great animation, though with a feeble voice. He was low of stature and of a very delicate bodily frame. In the beginning of his ministry he preached extemporaneously, but a severe illness that affected his head and impaired his memory, compelled him to make use of notes ever afterward.

Whitefield, who visited Mr. Walter in 1740, calls him a good old Puritan, and says, "I had but little conversation with him my stay was so short, but I remember he told me he was glad to hear I said that man was half a devil and half a beast." How so good a man could approve a sentiment so repugnant to reason and common-sense is one of the insoluble mysteries of the human mind.

Mr. Walter married Sarah, sister of Cotton, and daughter of Increase Mather. Two of his sons, Thomas and Nathaniel, were in the ministry, Nathaniel being for forty years settled over the Second Church of Roxbury. The pastorate of Eliot and Walter covered a period of one hundred and eighteen years, the latter dying in 1750 at the age of eighty-seven.

Rev. Thomas Walter, his son, and his colleague from 1718 until his death, which took place on Jan. 16, 1725, at the early age of twenty-eight, possessed all his father's vivacity and richness of imagination with greater vigor of intellect. He graduated at Harvard College in 1713; was one of the most distinguished scholars and disputants of his time; and was the first to reform the church music of America. Rev. Dr. Chauncy reckoned him as one of the first three clergymen, for extent and strength of genius and power, New England had produced, and believed that had he not died in the prime of life, he would have been known as one of the first of our great men.

In 1721 Mr. Walter, who excelled in the science of harmony, being grieved and annoyed beyond measure at the very indifferent performances in the sanctuary, published in a small volume "The Grounds and Rules of Music Explained; or, An Introduction to the Art of Singing by Note. Fitted to the Meanest Capacity." The music was printed with bars for the first time in America. The tunes were composed in three parts only. It ran through successive editions until 1764. This book threw the churches into commotion, some battling for the old and some for the new way of singing, — that is, by rote or note. "I have great jealousy," said a writer in the "New England Chronicle," "that if we once begin to sing by note, the next thing will be to pray by rote, and then comes popery."

Mr. Walter's sermon, "The Sweet Psalmist of Israel," delivered in 1722, and dedicated to Judge Paul Dudley, has been pronounced the most beautiful composition among the sermons handed down to us by our fathers. His uncle, Rev. Cotton Mather, commemorated him in a discourse which was shortly afterwards printed, with the title of "A Good Reward of a Good Servant."

The apostle Eliot's estate of two and a half acres was a long, narrow strip, having a front of one hundred and forty-five feet on Washington Street, facing the old schoolhouse and Gov. Dudley's residence, his orchard extending back to the Training Field, just beyond Winslow Street. Rev. Mr. Walter's estate adjoined him on the north, while the highway to Dorchester (Dudley Street) formed his southern boundary. The lower part of Warren Street, not then laid out, divides Eliot's lot.

His house stood just in the rear of the People's Bank building, and is probably the old house that was pulled down when that was built, and which was long owned and occupied by the Mears family. It was of two stories, with a gambrel roof, its porch or main entrance in the centre, and is remembered

as a very old house by the most aged persons now living in Roxbury. Its next occupant after Eliot was Deacon Samuel Williams, who married Theoda, daughter of Deacon William

John Eliot

Parke. Their son, Rev. John Williams, of Deerfield, was carried into captivity by the Indians. North of Mears, on a part of the Eliot estate, was the house and lot of William Blaney.

Nazing, in Essex, England, has the distinction of being the birthplace of the apostle. He was educated at Jesus College, Cambridge; then taught awhile in the grammar school at Little Baddow, kept by that eminent and learned divine, Thomas Hooker, in whose household Eliot received those strong religious impressions that determined him to become a preacher; and finally, as England afforded small encouragement at that day for a Puritan minister, he took passage in the "Lion," bound for New England, arriving at Boston on Nov. 2, 1631. Here, in the absence of Mr. Wilson, pastor of the church, he preached for a short time.

Respecting his settlement, Gov. Winthrop says: —

"Mr. John Eliot, a member of the Boston congregation, whom they intended presently to call to the office of teacher, was called to be a teacher to the church at Roxbury, and though Boston labored all they could, both with the congregation of Roxbury and with Mr. Eliot himself, alleging their want of him and the covenant between them, yet he could not be diverted from accepting the call of Roxbury, so he was dismissed."

From the period of Welde's departure for England in 1641 until the settlement of Danforth as his colleague in 1650, and again from the death of the latter in 1674 to 1688, Eliot was sole pastor, having on his hands the double labor of his own large parish and that of converting the Indians. The special merit of Eliot, and which entitled him to be called the "Apostle," lay in his zealous and unwearied efforts to Christianize the Indians. This, in the language of the charter of the Massachusetts Company, was declared to be "the principal cause of this plantation." The oaths of the governor and deputy-governor bound them to do their best for this end, and upon the seal provided for the colony an Indian with extended hands raised the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us." "That public engagement," wrote Eliot to a friend in 1659, "together with pity for the poor Indian and desire to make the name of Christ chief in these dark ends of the earth, and not the rewards of men, were the very first and

chief movers, if I know what did first and chiefly move in my heart when God was pleased to put upon me that work of preaching to them."

He first devoted two years to the arduous task of acquiring their language from a native, "a pregnant-witted young man who had been a servant in an English house." This man, a Long Island Indian, who had been taken prisoner in the Pequod war, was hired by Eliot to live in his family and teach him his language. He left his service before 1648, and was succeeded by Job Nesutan. Of him, Major Gookin relates that, "In the expedition against King Philip, in 1675, one of our principal soldiers of the Praying Indians was slain, a valiant and stout man, Job Nesutan. He was a very good linguist in the English tongue, and was Mr. Eliot's assistant and interpreter in his translation of the Bible and other books in the Indian tongue."

COLONY SEAL.

Laborious, indeed, was the task of making a grammar, as Eliot was compelled to do, of a tongue in which a word of thirty-four letters was required, to express "our loves." The expression in this form might be intelligible, but it would certainly be lengthy. "Our question" took fifty letters, and other simple words and phrases in proportion. There is point in Cotton Mather's back reading of Eliot's name, T o i l e. When Eliot first entered upon this unpromising field of labor, there were nearly twenty tribes of Indians within the limits of the English planters, all bearing a strong resemblance to each other in language, manners, and religion. He was violently opposed by the sachems and pawwaws, or priests, who were apprehensive that the introduction of a new religion would be the means of their losing their authority.

Once when alone with them in the wilderness, they commanded him to desist from his labors on peril of his life, but he calmly replied, "I am about the work of the great God, and he is with me, so that I neither fear you nor all the sachems in the country. I will go on. You touch me if you dare."

ELIOT PREACHING.

The opening scene of this memorable mission at Nonantum, an Indian word signifying "rejoicing," is best given in Eliot's own language: —

"Upon Oct. 28. 1646, four of us [Eliot, Gookin, and Heath of Roxbury, and Rev. Thos. Shepard, of Cambridge] went unto the Indians inhabiting within our bounds, with desire to make known the things of their peace to them. A little before we came to their wigwams, five or six of the chief of them met us with English salutations bidding us much welcome. We found many more Indians, men, women, and children, gathered together from all quarters round about according to appointment to meet with us and learne of us. Waaubon, the chief minister of justice among them exhorting and inviting them before thereunto, being one who gives more grounded hopes of serious respect to the things of God than any that as yet I have known of that forlorn generation; and therefore since we first begun to deal seriously with him hath voluntarily offered his eldest

son to be educated and trained up in the knowledge of God, and accordingly his son was accepted and is now in school at Dedham, whom we found at this time standing by his father among the rest of his Indian brethren in English clothes.

"After a prayer in English and in a set speech familiarly opening the principal matters of salvation to them, the next thing we intended was, discourse with them by propounding certain questions to see what they would say to them, that soe we might skrue by variety of means something or other of God into them. but before we did this we asked them if they understood all that which was already spoken, and whether all of them in the wigwam did understand, or only some few; and they answered to this question with multitudes of voyces that they all of them did understand all that was then spoken to them."

These are some of the questions asked by these untutored sons of the forest, at this and subsequent meetings: —

"Whether Jesus Christ did understand, or God did understand Indian prayers? How came the English to differ so much from the Indians in the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, seeing they all had at first but one father? How came it to pass that the sea water was salt, and the land water fresh? What is a spirit? Whether they should believe dreams? Why did not God give all men good hearts, that they might be good? and why did not God kill the devil that made all men so bad, God having all the power?"

An amusing incident took place at one of these public meetings. George, a drunken Indian, cried out, "Mr. Eliot, who made sack? who made sack?" This, it will be perceived, was a cavil about the origin of evil. It is said that he was soon snubbed by the other Indians, who cried out that it was a "pappoose" question. This same fellow afterwards killed a cow, and sold it to the college for a moose.

To Harvard College, that seat of knowledge,
Hies Indian George one day,
A capital hoax upon President Oakes
And the learned professors to play.
So by way of a ruse, he sells them a moose, —
I leave you to fancy the row
When they sit at their meat, and discover the cheat,
For lo! he had sent them a cow!

Eliot "kept a constant lecture to them, one week at the wigwam of Waban, a new sachem, near Watertown Mill, and the other, the next week, in the wigwam of Cutshamokin, near Dorchester Mill." His labors were also extended to various points on the Merrimac River, to Yarmouth, Martha's Vineyard, Lancaster, Brookfield, and the country of the Nipmucs, which included parts of Southwestern Massachusetts and Northern Connecticut. The neighboring ministers greatly encouraged him in his work, and often supplied his pulpit while he was absent preaching among the natives. Accounts of these meetings were published in England, where they excited great interest. To show its appreciation of his labors, the General Court, on May 26, 1647, ordered, "that £10 be given Mr. Eliot as a gratuity in respect of his pains in instructing the Indians in the knowledge of God, and that order be taken that the £20 per annum given by the Lady Armine for that purpose, may be called for and employed accordingly."

There was a great fishing-place at one of the falls of the Merrimac, where the Indians assembled in great numbers in the spring of the year, and Mr. Eliot went to meet them. He hired a Nashua or Lancaster Indian to beat down a path for him from Roxbury through the woods, and to notch the trees, that he might find his way through. A sachem with twenty men did escort for him, and the journey occupied three days. "It pleased God," he says, "to exercise us with such tedious rain and bad weather that we were extreme wet, insomuch that I was not dry night nor day from the third day of the week to the sixth, but so travelled, and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again."

Eliot once had an interview with King Philip, to whom he explained the way of salvation, exhorting him to repent. The haughty chieftain, who refused to treat with any but "my brother, King Charles of England," rose, took hold of

Eliot's button, and told him that he cared no more for the gospel than he did for that button.

One of Eliot's sound maxims was, that the Indians must be civilized in order to their being Christianized. One season of hunting, he said, undid all his missionary work. He therefore urged upon them the necessity of industry, cleanliness, good order, and good government. The simple code he drew up for them punished idleness, licentiousness, cruelty to women, vagrancy, looseness in dress, and filthiness in person. They soon began to be neat and industrious, to put aside their old habits, and to assume the manners of the whites. A court was established at Nonantum in 1647, on Eliot's petition, over which presided Justice Waban, whose "gift lay in ruling, judging of cases, wherein he is patient, constant, and prudent." There was no circumlocution at his office. Here is a specimen warrant: "You, you big constable quick you catch um Jeremiah Offscow; strong you hold um; safe you bring um afore me, Waban, Justice Peace." His sagacious and sententious judgment in a case between some drunken Indians would do no discredit to a much higher civilization than that at Nonantum: "Tie um all up, and whip um plaintiff and whip um 'fendant and whip um witness."

Meantime, Eliot, after twelve years of labor, had translated the Bible into the Indian tongue. This lasting monument to his industry, of a version into a language destitute of an alphabet, constitutes an epoch in literature. Cotton Mather's statement, that "Eliot writ the whole with but one pen," seems incredible. The New Testament was first printed at Cambridge in 1661, and the whole Bible in 1663. A new edition of two thousand copies was printed in 1686. Copies of this work are exceedingly rare, and are so highly prized by collectors that a thousand dollars have been paid for a single one. This was the first Bible printed on this continent, and remained the only one until the War for Independence had freed the colonies from the literary as well as the political fetters which

had been fastened on them by the mother country. The expense of publishing was principally borne by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, at the head of which was the excellent Robert Boyle, through whose influence £50 were annually paid to Eliot by the society.

ROBERT BOYLE.

Eliot's Bible was first dedicated to the Parliament in 1659. The restoration of the monarchy necessitated it to be dedicated afresh, this time to Charles II, who received it "very graciously," says Boyle, who presented the book to him; "but though he looked a pretty while upon it, and shewed some things in it to those that had the honor to be about him, yet the unexpected coming in of an extraordinary envoy from the emperor hindered me from receiving that fuller expression of his grace towards the translators and dedicators that might otherwise have been expected." The "merry monarch" was almost the last person in the world properly to appreciate a serious labor of this kind.

A fac-simile of the title-page of the Indian Bible follows:

MAMUSSE
WUNNEETUPANATAM WE
UP-BIBLUM GOD
NANEESWE
NUKKONE TESTAMENT
KAH WONK
WUSKU TESTAMENT
NE QUOSHKINNUMUK NASHPE WUTTINNEMOH CHRIST
NOH ASOOWESIT
JOHN ELIOT

CAMBRIDGE
PRINTEUOOPNASHPE SAMUEL GREEN KAH MARMADUKE JOHNSON
1663

Primers, grammars, psalters, catechisms, "The Practice of Piety," "Baxter's Call," and other books in the Indian tongue followed the Bible, and soon there were fourteen places of Praying Indians, as they were called, under Eliot's care, and about eleven hundred souls apparently converted. No pains were spared to teach the natives to read and write, and "in a short time," says Bancroft, "a larger proportion of the Massachusetts Indians could do so than recently of the inhabitants of Russia." The work was continued by the Mayhews, Fitch, John Cotton, Gookin, Pierson, and others. In 1673 six Indian churches had been gathered.

But now came Philip's war, the death-blow to the work upon which the apostle had set his heart, and in which he had been nearly spent. In the course of the conflict some of the Praying Indians joined the English, while some deserted to Philip. This so exasperated the people that the utmost exertions of Eliot, Gookin, and Danforth were required to save the Christian Indians who remained at home from their fury, and in so doing they incurred the popular resentment. These Indians were for their own safety removed to Long Island in Boston Harbor, where they were exposed to privations of every kind, and after the war was over were settled at Natick and elsewhere. The remembrance of their injuries made a breach between them and the English that was never healed. In 1684 the Indian towns had been reduced to four. The tribes dwindled, and finally disappeared. The following incident, related by Eliot, exhibits the popular feeling: —

"1676. On the 7th day of the 2d month, Capt. Gookins, Mr. Danforth & Mr. Stoughton w^ sent by the councill to order matters at Long Island for the Indians planting there y^t called me with them. In our way thither a great boat of about 14 ton meeting us turned head upon us (whether wilfully or by negligence God he knoweth) that run the sterne of our boat where we 4 sat under water. Our boats saile or something tangled with the great boat, and by God's mercy kept to it. My cosin Jacob and cosin Perrie being forwarder

in our boat, quickly got up into the great boat. I so sunk that I drank in salt water twice and could not help it God assisted my two cosins to deliver us all and help us up into the great boat. We were not far from the castle where we went ashore, dryed and refreshed and then went to the Island performed our work returned well home at night, praised be the Lord. Some thanked God and some wished we had been drowned. Soone after, one that wished we had been drowned, was himself drowned about the same place where we were so wonderfully delivered."

Taken in connection with the threats against all those friendly to the praying Indians, there can be little doubt that this collision was premeditated. Another extract from the same source, Eliot's church record, possesses much interest: —

"1677. The Indian war now about to finish wherein the praying Indians had so eminent an interest. The success of the Indians was highly accepted with the soldiers, and they were welcomed whenever they met them. They had them to the Ordinaries, made them drink and bred them by such an habit to love strong drink, that it proved a horrible snare unto us. They learned so to love strong drink that they would spend all their wages & pawn any thing they had for *rumb* or strong drink. So drunkenness increased and quarrelling and fighting and more, the sad effects of strong drink. Praying to God was quenched, the younger generation being debauched & the good old generation of the first beginners was gathered home by death. So that Satan improved the opportunity to defile, to debase & bring into contempt the whole work of praying to God. A great apostacy defiled us, and yet through grace some shined at Deer Island & the work is yet on foot to this day — praised be the Lord. When the Indians were hurried away to an Island at half an hour's warning, their souls in terror, they left their good books, bibles, only some few carried their bibles, the rest were spoiled and lost, so that when the war was finished as they returned to their places they were greatly impoverished but they especially bewailed their want of bibles. This made me meditate upon a new impression of a bible, and accordingly took pains to revise the first edition."

We get a glimpse of the old apostle from the journal of two Dutch travellers, Messrs. Dankers and Sluyter, in 1679–80, nearly two hundred years ago: —

"The best of the ministers we have yet heard is a very old man named John Eliot. . . . On arriving at his house he was not there, and we therefore went to look around the village and the vicinity. We found it justly called Rocksbury, for it was very rocky and had hills entirely of rocks. Returning to his house we spoke to him and he received us politely. Although he could speak neither Dutch nor French, and we spoke but little English, we managed by means of Latin and English to understand each other. We asked him for an Indian Bible. He said in the late Indian war all the Bibles and Testaments were carried away and burnt or destroyed, so that he had not been able to save any for himself, but a new edition was in press. Thereupon, he went and brought us the Old Testament, and also the New Testament, made up with some sheets of the new edition, so that we had the Old and New Testaments complete. He also brought us two or three small specimens of the grammar. We asked him what we should pay him for them, but he desired nothing. He deplored the decline of the church in New England, and especially in Boston, so that he did not know what would be the final result. We inquired how it stood with the Indians, and whether any good fruit had followed his work. 'Yes, much,' he said, 'if we meant true conversion of the heart.' He could thank God there were Indians whom he knew were truly converted of heart to God, and whose professions were sincere. He accompanied us as far as the jurisdiction of Rocksbury extended, where we parted from him."

A few years later he was visited by the eccentric bookseller, John Dunton, a writer as well as a vender of books, and who has secured a passport to immortality by being transfixed at the end of a verse of the "Dunciad." He says: —

"My next ramble was to Roxbury, in order to visit the Rev. Mr. Eliot, the great apostle of the Indians, the glory of Roxbury, as well as of all England. He was pleased to receive me with abundance of respect, and inquired very kindly after Dr. Annesley, my father-in-law, and then broke out with a world of seeming satisfaction, 'Is my brother Annesley yet alive? Blessed be God for this information before I die.' He presented me with twelve Indian Bibles, and desired me to bring one of them over to Dr. Annesley, as also with twelve speeches of converted Indians which himself had published."

That Eliot carried his dislike of controversy to an extreme that savored of weakness, was evident whenever his opinions conflicted with the views of those in authority. Says Winthrop, under date of November, 1634: —

"It was then informed us how Mr. Eliot had taken occasion in a sermon to speak of the peace made with the Pekods, and to lay some blame upon the ministry for proceeding therein without consent of the people, and for other failings (as he considered). We took order that he should be dealt with by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Welde, to be brought to see his error and to heal it by some public explanation of his meaning, for the people began to take occasion to murmur against us for it.

"The aforesaid three ministers, upon conference with the said Mr. Eliot, brought him to acknowledge his error in that he had mistaken the ground of his doctrine, and that he did acknowledge that for a peace only (whereby the people were not to be engaged in a war), the magistrates might conclude *plebe inconsulto*, and so promised to express himself in public next Lord's day."

Having written a treatise called "The Christian Commonwealth," containing a frame of government as deduced from the Scriptures for the benefit of the Indian converts, Eliot had it published in London in 1654. This, by the way, is supposed to be the first political treatise by a citizen of this country. The fathers of the colony were not only spiritually-minded men, but they were exceedingly wary and politic, and on the restoration of the monarchy under Charles II this book, which defended the universal principles of popular freedom, was, in March, 1661, condemned by the governor and council as being "full of seditious principles and notions in relation to established governments, especially that established in their native country." Obedient to their mandate, Eliot did not hesitate to suppress his book, and even went so far as to speak of Cromwell and his friends as "the late innovators in the government of Great Britain," and to acknowledge the form of government by kings, lords, and commons as not only lawful but eminent. His "acknowledgment" was

ordered to be posted up in the principal towns and the book to be called in.

Eliot was a founder and principal promoter of the grammar school in Roxbury, and was zealous and unwearied in his efforts for the establishment of common schools throughout the colony. In his will he bequeathed a valuable estate for the support of the school at Jamaica Plain which bears his name.

He appears also to have been the first to lift up his voice against the treatment which negroes received in New England, and "made a motion to the English within two or three miles of him," says Rev. Cotton Mather, "that at such a time and place they would send their negroes once a week to him, for he would then catechise them and enlighten them to the extent of his power." He adds that Eliot did not live to make much progress in this undertaking. His efforts to prevent the selling of Indian captives into slavery were also futile.

"He that would write of Eliot," says Cotton Mather, "must write of charity, or say nothing." The parish treasurer on paying him his salary, knowing his man, tied it up in a handkerchief in as many hard knots as possible, hoping he would be thereby compelled to carry it home. On his way he called to see a poor sick woman, and told the family that God had sent them some relief. With tearful eyes and trembling hands he endeavored to untie the knots. After many fruitless efforts to get at his money, impatient at the delay, he gave the handkerchief and its contents to the mother, saying, "Here, my dear, take it; I believe the Lord designs it all for you." "The parish treasurer," says Horace B. Sargent, "is not the first nor last man who has defeated his own benevolent intentions by tying up funds too tightly."

When the venerable and aged man was paying him one of his last visits, Joseph Dudley met him at his door, full of reverence and love. "Methinks, sir," said he, "the angels are hovering here about us, and think it long till they take

you up from us." "Truly, sir," replied the good old man, "I am good for little here below, only while I daily find my understanding going and my memory and senses decaying I bless God, my faith and charity grow." He offered to give up his salary when he could no longer preach, but the society told him that they accounted his presence worth any sum granted for his support, even if he were superannuated so as to do no further service for them.

"His apparell was without any ornament except that of humility," says Mather. "Had you seen him with his leathern girdle (for such a one he wore) about his loins, you would almost have thought what Herod feared, that John Baptist was come to life again." He disdained the pride, vanity, and finery of the time, which he silently rebuked in the wise and grave order of his own house. Frugal and temperate through a long life, he never indulged in the luxuries of the table. His drink was water, and he said of wine, "It is a noble, generous liquor, and we should be humbly thankful for it, but, as I remember, water was made before it."

So strong was his prejudice against wearing wigs, that he thought all the calamities of the country, even Indian wars, might be traced to that absurd fashion. For men to wear the hair long he thought "a luxurious feminine protexity." But the fashion prevailed, and Eliot lived to see many an orthodox minister wear a great white wig; and it is reported that he gave over the utterance of his grieved spirit, saying only as a last word of complaint that "the lust was insuperable." Perhaps Eliot might have carried his point had he adopted the clever expedient of Clemens of Alexandria, who informed the astonished wig-wearers that when they knelt at church to receive the blessing they would be good enough to recollect that the benediction remained on the wig, and did not pass through to the wearer.

His wife, who died three years before him, was "skilled in

physic and chirurgery," and dispensed medicines to the sick and needy in her vicinity. She also managed the private affairs of her husband, whose charities far exceeded his means, that he might devote his whole time and strength to his public labors. Once, when there stood several kine of his own before his door, she, in order to try him, asked him whose they were, and she found he knew nothing of them.

The affection with which this excellent woman was regarded by all, is seen in the following incident. A sum of money had been contributed to redeem William Bowen, of Roxbury, from captivity among the Turks, but news of his death arriving about the time "good ould Mrs. Eliot lay at the point of death," it was applied to the erection of a ministerial tomb, and it was at the same time resolved that Mrs. Eliot, for her great services to the town, should be honored with burial there; but before the tomb was finished, "the good ould gentlewoman" was dead, and she was placed there, "wherein was man never yet laid." It is touching to read in Eliot's diary the brief entry on this occasion: "In this year (1687) my ancient, dearly beloved wife dyed. I was sick unto death, but the Lord was pleased to delay me and keepe (me) in my service which was but poore and weake."

The death of this venerable and Christlike man,

> "Such priest as Chaucer sung in fervent lays,
> Such as the heaven-taught skill of Herbert drew,"

occurred on May 20, 1690, at the age of eighty-six. Had he been a Roman Catholic, he would assuredly have been canonized. Rev. Joseph Eliot, of Guilford, Conn., was the only one of his sons who had living posterity bearing his name. The poet Fitzgreene Halleck was a descendant of the apostle.

The Eliot portrait, now in the possession of the family of the late Hon. William Whiting, an engraving from which is given on page 175, was bought by him in London, in 1851,

of a dealer in pictures, who unfortunately could give no information respecting its history, and who supposed it to represent some missionary to the East Indies. The costume is that of the period, and exhibits a similar style of collar, gloves of nearly identical pattern, and hair and beard of a similar cut to those represented in the portrait of Gov. Endecott. The accessories consist of a book, probably the Indian Bible, and in the background a city, perhaps Cambridge, where Eliot was educated. On its upper left-hand corner is the inscription: "John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, nat. 1604, ob. 1690." The portrait was probably painted for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, doubtless at the suggestion of Eliot's friend and correspondent, Hon. Robert Boyle.

Daniel Gookin, the neighbor and intimate friend of Eliot, when he began preaching to the Indians, and his companion in many of his perilous journeys among them, had formerly been a Kentish soldier, and "a very forward man to advance martial discipline, and withal the truths of Christ." All else that can be gleaned concerning his connection with Roxbury is, that he was here from 1644 to 1648: was a representative from Roxbury to the General Court, of which he was some years speaker, and was one of the founders of the grammar school. Prior to his removal to the more congenial soil of New England, he had been a planter in Virginia. In 1652 he was made a magistrate, and he was the last major-general of the colony under the old charter. In 1656 he was a visitor at the court of Oliver Cromwell, who employed him to induce emigration from Massachusetts with a view to the settlement of Jamaica, which England had recently conquered from Spain. In this he was unsuccessful. After a life of great usefulness, he died on March 19, 1687, at the age of seventy-five. Judge Sewall, in his journal, characterizes him as "a right good man."

In 1675, with Eliot and Danforth, he stood boldly forward

in behalf of the praying Indians, whom the enraged people would have destroyed. For this display of heroism they were openly threatened with death, in placards posted up in Boston. One of these, dated Feb. 28, 1675-6. reads as follows: —

"Reader, thou art desired not to suppress this paper but to promote its designe, which is to certify (those traytors to their king and countrey) Guggins and Danford, that some generous spirits have vowed their destruction. As Christians we warne them to prepare for death, for though they will deservedly dye, yet we wish the health of their souls.

"By the new Society, "A B. C. D."

The old-fashioned two-story brick building, the lower part of which is used as a market, was in the olden time "The Free School in Roxburie," and was long the only building on the ground now occupied by Guild Row. The old school has a history, and fortunately found a historian in Mr. Charles K. Dillaway, a gentleman well known and highly esteemed as an educator, and who has for many years taken an active interest in the schools of the town. Nine generations of Roxbury boys have imbibed freely at this fountain of learning, a goodly number of whom have reflected credit on their *Alma Mater*. Governors, judges, and generals, patriots statesmen, and heroes, a list too long to be here given, have illustrated its history, and have invested its homely old walls with a claim to our reverential regard.

A Roxbury poet has thus humorously described some of the old-time methods of inculcating knowledge: —

"Then, Learning's altar flamed with genial birch,
And tingling ribs proclaimed how keen its search;
Then wit and wisdom found their shortest track
Up to the brain, by travelling through the back.
Just as the woodman makes his axe descend
Its handle best, by thumping t'other end;
And still their course they well knew how to strew
With bumps that Gall and Spurzheim never knew."

Upon a part of the lot supposed to have been given by Gov. Thomas Dudley, though it may have been the gift of the apostle Eliot, "with the help of many well-disposed persons, by the way of subscription," this old schoolhouse, the third that has stood here, was erected in 1742, "a good handsome bell" being also given for the use of the school by Hon. Paul Dudley. By the year 1820 the growth of the town had necessitated the addition of a second story, but even with this enlargement of its capacity it soon became totally inadequate to the requirements of the school, and in 1834 the house was sold, and a new one built in Mount Vernon Place, now Kearsarge Avenue, upon land purchased of the Warren heirs.

The first house was repaired in 1665. In 1681 the condition of this temple of learning was thus depicted by the teacher: —

"Of inconveniences I shall mention no other but the confused and shattered and nastie posture that it is in, not fitting for to reside in, the glass broke, and thereupon very raw and cold; the floor very much broken and torn up to kindle fires, the hearth spoiled, the seats some burned and others out of kilter, that one had as well-nigh as goods keep school in a hogstye as in it."

The decayed state of this *schola illustris*, as above graphically portrayed, explains the vote of the town some time previously, that without its consent "The scollers should not keep scool in the meeting hous."

In the will of Samuel Hagburne, made in 1642, is this proviso, to which the origin of the school may be traced: "When Roxburie shall set up a free schoole in the towne, there shall 10 shillings pr. ann. out of the neck of land, and 10 shillings pr. ann. out of the house and houselot, be paid unto it forever." The first active step was taken when some sixty of the principal inhabitants, "wellnigh the whole town," bound themselves to the payment of certain sums yearly for the support of a free school. This they followed up in 1646

by pledging their houses, barns, orchards, and homesteads to this most praiseworthy object.

The preamble to this agreement recites that: —

"Whereas the inhabitants of Roxburie, out of their religious care of posteritie, have taken into consideration how necessarie the education of their children in literature will be to fitt them for publicke service both in church and commonwealth in succeeding ages; they therefore have unanimously consented and agreed to erect a free schoole in the said town of Roxburie and to allow £20 pr. annum to the schoolmaster."

They then proceeded to choose seven feoffees "for the well ordering of the schoole and schoolars," who had entire charge thereof, and also of the collection and disbursement of the funds for its support. For near a century this method was pursued, but as sufficient sums came in gradually from other sources, the rents originally subscribed ceased to be exacted. The property of the school consists of various pieces of real estate scattered over the town, most of which have been advantageously leased for a long term of years, and to-day its income is scarcely equalled by that of any institution of the kind in New England. The feoffees and the trustees of the Bell and other estates devised to the school were united into one body by the Act of January 21, 1789, incorporating "The Trustees of the Grammar School in the Easterly Part of the Town of Roxbury."

Among the principal benefactors of this well-endowed institution were Lawrence Whittamore, "an ancient Christian," Elder Isaac Heath, the friend and coadjutor of Eliot in his Indian labors, Thomas Bell, the generous London merchant and the most liberal benefactor of the school, and William Mead, whose gift, small though it was, comprised his entire estate. The General Court in 1660 granted it five hundred acres of land. This was laid out in Oxford, but in 1790, by vote of the town, the proceeds arising from the sales thereof went into the town treasury, the school never receiving a dollar of the money.

In 1669 John Eliot and Thomas Weld, feoffees, in a petition to the General Court, stated that "the first book and charter was burnt in the burning of John Johnson's house." [This fire occurred on April 6, 1645.] It was renewed, but some of the hands of the donors are not unto this second book personally which were to the first, nor are they attainable, being dead." The present book is a small parchment-covered quarto of one hundred and twenty pages, containing entries by different hands from 1646 to 1787. The early entries are few in number, and without regular order. It embraces a copy of the agreement for the support of the school in 1645, names of donors and amounts pledged, choice of feoffees, teacher's receipts, etc.

Of John Eliot's active agency in the establishment of the school, and the high reputation it thus early enjoyed, Cotton Mather, in his "Magnalia," thus speaks: —

"God so blessed his endeavors that Roxbury could not live quietly without a free school in the town, and the issue of it has been one thing that has almost made me put the title of *Schola illustris* upon that little nursery; that is, that Roxbury has afforded more scholars, first for the college, and then for the public, than any other town of its bigness, or, if I mistake not, of twice its bigness in New England. From the spring of the school at Roxbury there have run a large number of the streams which have made glad the whole city of God."

Joseph Hansford, serving in 1650, is the first of its teachers whose name has come down to us, unless an entry in the old school record, dated 1648, allowing for the board of "Father Stowe" and his son, establishes the presumption, certainly a fair one, that Stowe preceded him in that office. Teachers not residents of the town were boarded out wherever convenience dictated, and their board was paid by the trustees. Ward Chipman, afterward an eminent Canadian jurist, while teaching here in 1770, was boarded at Dr. Thomas Williams's at eight shillings per week. In 1652 the feoffees agreed

with Daniel Weld to teach, and "that he provide convenient benches with forms, with tables for the scholars, a convenient seat for the schoolmaster, and a desk to put the dictionary on, and shelves to lay up books." In 1668 John Prudden promises and engages "to use his best skill and endeavors, both by precept and example, to instruct in all scholasticall, morall, and theologicall discipline the children (soe far as they are or shall be capable) of those persons whose names are here underwritten, all A. B. C. Darians excepted." The names of fifty-eight persons are signed to this covenant. For this large and beneficent labor the Pruddential consideration was £25 per annum, three fourths in Indian corn or pease, and one fourth in barley of good merchantable quality, and at the current rate, to be delivered at the upper mills in Roxbury. Five hundred dollars was the salary paid Master Prentiss at the beginning of this century, together with the use of a dwelling-house. At present the principal of the school receives four thousand dollars per annum.

However desirous the inhabitants of the town may have been that their children should receive an education, they were certainly not over-liberal to the schoolmaster. They refused in 1714 to levy a tax of £10 "for the better support of a grammar schoolmaster to teach school in the town street." They paid him in corn, as we have seen, which must frequently have been against the grain; they boarded him out, possibly to the lowest bidder, as was the case with town paupers; and he sometimes received his pay in coppers, as appears by the following receipt: —

ROXBURY, April 8, 1773.

Received of Colo. Williams of the Feoffees of the Grammar School, a bag of coppers, weight 34 pounds in part of my salary for the year current, the same being by estimation £4. 13. 4. lawful money, and for which I am to be accountable.

JOHN ELIOT.

To draw even a small salary paid in copper is no light matter, and Mr. Eliot had weighty reasons for taking his in small instalments. Being an inmate in the family of Mr. Isaac Winslow, just across the brook from the schoolhouse, he did not have to carry it far, though it is quite likely he made it go a great way. This young gentleman afterwards succeeded his father as minister of the New North Church, Boston.

In 1663 the town gave for the use of the schoolmaster ten acres of common land, "that is to say, the use of the wood and timber for his own use, not to give and sell any, and so this to be forever for the use of the schoolmaster." In March, 1680, it was ordered that the parents of the scholars supply fuel for the use of the school, either half a cord of wood or four shillings for each child, excepting those only who were too poor. In 1735 eight shillings in money, or two feet of wood, were required, those who furnished neither, not to have the benefit of the fire, poor children excepted. Seventy years later the master was requested not to instruct such children as neglected to pay "fire money." Considering its ample income and the large supply of woodland owned by the free school, this seems to have been an unreasonable exaction.

Among the instructors of this school who afterwards became famous were Gen. Joseph Warren and Gov. Increase Sumner, natives of Roxbury, and William Cushing, an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and who subsequently declined the high honor of chief justice of that court, tendered him by Washington. Of those who attained eminence in the clerical profession, the name of Samuel Parker, bishop of the diocese of Massachusetts, deserves mention. Benjamin Tompson, "learned schoolmaster and physician, and ye renowned poet of New England," taught here in 1700–3. Ward Chipman, a Loyalist, who accompanied the British troops to Halifax in 1776, and became deputy

muster master general of the Loyalist forces in New York in 1782, was instructor here in 1770. Removing to New Brunswick, he attained the highest honors, and became president and commander-in-chief of the colony.

Robert Williams, master of the school in 1777, exchanged the ferule for the sword, served as lieutenant and paymaster in Col. Henry Jackson's "Boston Regiment," was in the battles of Springfield and Monmouth, N. J., and in Sullivan's campaign against the Indians, and remained until June, 1784, when the regiment, the last body retained in the continental service, was disbanded. He was afterwards a merchant of Boston, and part owner of the ship "Commerce," in which he sailed to the East Indies. Shipwrecked on the Arabian coast, Williams, after being plundered and stripped by the Arabs, and undergoing terrible hardships and privations, suffering the extremes of hunger and thirst, more than once lying down in despair to die, at length succeeded in reaching Muscat, five hundred miles from the scene of the disaster, and returned to Boston, after a three years' absence, in 1794.

The standard of admission must originally have been of the simplest, since in 1728 it was so raised that only such were received as could spell common, easy English words, either in the primer or in the Psalter. Sixty years later applicants were required "to read tolerably well by spelling words of four syllables." To-day, in addition to the three R's, a fair knowledge of grammar and geography are essential. When the addition of a second story was made in 1820, the school was divided, and the primary department placed under the charge of Deacon "Billy" Davis. Under the mastership of John Howe, the Grammar School became a Latin School, when, in 1674, the legacy of Mr. Bell became available. The salary of the teacher was at the same time increased. Out of eighty-five scholars in 1770, only nine were students of Latin. In 1844, after a five years' experiment of making it a High School, its organization as a Latin School was restored, such

English studies only being permitted as were compatible with the latter character.

The three-story wooden building north of the schoolhouse was built a century ago, and was owned by Deacon Samuel Sumner. In one of its upper rooms, known at the time as "Whitewash Hall," the early meetings of the brethren who afterwards organized the First Baptist Society were held.

## CHAPTER VI.

### WARREN STREET AND WALNUT AVENUE.

Warren Street. — Edward Sumner. — Old Schoolhouse. — Sumner Hall. — Funeral of Washington. — Bike Store. — Dove's Corner. — Auchmuty Estate. — Gardiner's Green. — Admiral Winslow. — Warren's Birthplace. — Mead's Orchard. — Perrin. — Donald Kennedy. — The Rocking Stone. — Elm Hill. — Grove Hall. — Ebenezer Seaver. — Walnut Avenue. — Williams's Homestead. — Rock Hill. — Peter Parley.

THE "Way to Braintree," or Upper Road to Dorchester, as it was afterwards called, was laid out in 1663. It received its present appropriate name, Warren Street, in 1825, when — and it marks the epoch of transition from the old to the new town more clearly than anything else does — all the existing roads, to the number of forty, received names from the town authorities, who had, however, as early as 1806, been instructed to perform that duty. The name had been borne by the principal street in Punch-Bowl Village as early as 1791, as appears by a petition to the selectmen from the engine company there located.

In 1712 Gov. Dudley, Rev. Nehemiah Walter, Samuel Williams, Edmund Weld, and Edward Sumner gave, "for the benefit of the town," a highway two rods in width through their lots, which, it will be remembered, fronted the town street on the west and the training-field on the east. This highway extended from "the green commonly called Gardiner's Green to the other highway lately fenced out from the Greyhound to Mr. Calfe's, leading to Boston." By opening this road, which was known until 1825 as "the New Lane," direct communication was made between Roxbury

Street and the Dorchester Road, which, as well as the Braintree Road, was only reached formerly by passing around the old brick schoolhouse. At the beginning of the century Warren Street was styled "The Great Plymouth Road." Successive widenings, the first occurring in 1798 and the last in 1872, have given it respectable dimensions, and it is now one of the most frequented as well as one of the most sightly of the streets of Roxbury.

Palmer, formerly Sumner, Street was accepted in 1817, having been laid out in 1802 from Lucy Bowman's, on the corner of Washington, to Aaron Davis's in Mall Street. Edward Sumner, who lived in the house numbered twenty-two, was a thrifty and industrious man, owned considerable real estate in Roxbury, and was quite a noted character. Among the many anecdotes related of him is this: —

"In answer to the advertisement of a young Boston merchant for silver dollars for shipment to China, a Roxbury farmer applied at the merchant's counting-room in his usual working attire, and modestly inquired if he advertised for silver dollars. 'Yes,' said the merchant sharply, 'I have advertised for them, but I do not wish to buy less than one hundred at a time. Have you any?' 'I think I have: what premium do you pay?' 'I pay three per cent. but,' added the merchant with a sneer, 'I will pay you six per cent for all that you have.' 'That sounds very well,' said the farmer, 'and as my memory is not the best, please write that on paper and read it to me.' 'What is your name?' 'Edward Sumner.' Soon the merchant read the following agreement: 'Edward Sumner thinks that he has some silver dollars, and I agree to pay him six per cent premium for the amount he may have, if over one hundred dollars.' 'That 's well,' said Sumner; 'now go with me and I will see if I have any.' After unloading barrels and baskets of vegetables from his wagon in front of the store, much to the astonishment of the merchant a large basket of dollars was found, which, with his assistance, was carried to the counting-room, where the amount, including the premium, was ascertained and a check handed to him in payment. But Sumner, whose turn had now come, declined to receive it. Said he, 'My young friend, a short time ago you did not think that I had any money, now I do not know that

you have any in the bank. There is my money, and you must hand me yours.' The merchant, who by this time began to see his mistake, was obliged to send his clerk to the bank and draw the money. Before leaving, Sumner told the merchant that, as he was by far the older man, he would like to give him a little good advice. 'Young man,' said he, 'don't you ever again judge a man by his dress, if you do, you may again be deceived.'"

"Beside yon straggling fence that skirts the way,
With blossomed furze unprofitably gay,
There, in his noisy mansion, skilled to rule,
The village master taught his little school."

"And well our sires can tell
How learning entered where the cowskin fell,
How proved each stripe across his back that flew,
A sluice, where knowledge ran in gutters through."

Sumner Hall, the first wooden building on the right-hand side of Palmer Street, built in 1798 in accordance with a vote of the town to erect "a decent schoolhouse" in some convenient place, was called the "New Schoolhouse in Roxbury Street." The land was given to the town for this purpose by Gov. Increase Sumner in 1795. The building is described in a petition of the proprietors, as "forty-four by twenty-two feet, the lower part a very commodious schoolhouse, the upper or second story finished as an elegant assembly-room and drawing-rooms connected therewith." They ask the town to sanction their doings and to authorize them to lease the premises except the schoolroom. This, it is presumed, was done, as a public school was kept here many years. We may judge of its commodiousness from the fact that in 1829, when it had one hundred and sixty-four pupils, the committee, on measuring the schoolroom, found that it would "very inconveniently hold, but not accommodate," seventy-two only.

As early as in 1647, the towns were required to provide a schoolmaster to teach children to read and write, and upon increasing to the number of one hundred families or householders, "to set up a grammar school." The forethought

and urgency of Eliot and his co-workers had already established upon a permanent foundation the "Free School of Roxbury" In the easterly parish, but this in time became insufficient, and school accommodations in the remoter parts of the town were for many years far short of their requirements. In 1790 the selectmen reported the number of pupils in the town schools, except the old grammar school, as follows, the average attendance being one hundred and ninety-five :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| The school near Workhouse, Centre St., | Master | Ruggles, | 25 |
| " in Warren St. (Punch-Bowl Vill.) | " | Michael McDonald. | 83 |
| " Jamaica Plain, | " | Morris, | 89 |
| " Upper Jamaica Plain, | " | Walker, | 20 |
| " Spring Street, | " | James Griggs, | 67 |

In each of these schools the pupils were taught to spell, to read and speak the English language with propriety, together with writing, arithmetic, and "such other branches of human knowledge," say the committee, "as their respective capacities are capable of imbibing." In some instances the children of poor parents were obliged to neglect the opportunity of learning, because their parents were unable to pay a small sum towards the maintenance of the school. This evil was at once remedied by a vote empowering the selectmen to draw on the town treasurer for the sums necessary to make up this deficiency, not to exceed forty shillings to one school. Two schoolhouses were soon afterwards established in "Canterbury," one at the corner of Bourne and Canterbury Streets, the other on Poplar Street. Nine school districts were formed in 1807, four of which were in the easterly parish. The first and second were accommodated in the "new" building above described. At this time the total expenditure for the town schools was raised from one thousand dollars to fifteen hundred dollars, the pupils, numbering three hundred and eighty-one, having increased in the same ratio. In 1816 new vitality was infused into the system. The appropriation was increased to two thousand dollars, and uniformity in the rules and regu-

lations and also in text-books was authorized, "the masters hitherto using such books as they liked." In 1816 "a new school-book," containing the Constitution of the State and of the United States, was provided. In 1819 "Cummings's Geography" and "Murray's English Exercises" were recommended. "Grimshaw's United States History" and the study of English composition were introduced in 1822, and "Colburn's Arithmetic" in 1826.

But it was not until 1829 that radical changes were made. In that year the committee found a large part of the children destitute of books of any kind, and the remainder imperfectly supplied. They therefore bought and distributed among the instructors such school-books as in their judgment were best suited to the wants and capacities of the scholars. They also formed subcommittees for visiting the schools at convenient times and without ceremony; and in view of the fact that there were thirty per cent of absentees, they recommended to parents to require the regular and constant attendance of their children. They also expressed their surprise at finding the largest school superior to all the others, suggested a revision of the school system, the creation of another school district, an increased appropriation, and recommended that some of the schools be kept a whole year. The attendance in the eleven schools follows, the right-hand columns showing the number present: —

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sumner Street . . . . | 164 | 143 | Eliot (Plain district) | 40 | 23 |
| Workhouse . . . . . | 99 | 69 | By Swallow's (Taft's) | 52 | 36 |
| Near Gen. Dearborn's | 66 | 49 | Lower Canterbury . . . | 49 | 32 |
| Lower Plain . . . . . | 57 | 42 | Upper Canterbury . . . | 29 | 25 |
| Upper Plain . . . . . | 70 | 53 | Spring Street . . . . . | 82 | 55 |
| Eliot (Plain) . . . . . | 62 | 43 | | | |

In accordance with the suggestion above made, the committee in the following year proposed, and the town adopted a proposition, to thereafter use the schoolhouses in districts Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4 for primary schools for pupils under eight

years of age, to be taught by females, and that some accommodations be provided and maintained by the town, situated conveniently for the said four districts, for a town school, consisting of pupils over eight years of age, and comprising a department for girls and one for boys, to be taught by two masters. The upper hall of the town house was in 1831 fitted up for this purpose, and the appropriation increased to three thousand dollars, or a little less than sixty cents per capita for each inhabitant. In 1839 the estate on Bartlett Street, now the Dudley School for girls, was purchased, and the Washington School was built in the following year. In 1841 there were in Roxbury eleven primary and three grammar schools, — the Westerly, Dudley, and Washington.

While the improvements in our public schools within a few years, both in their appliances for the physical comfort of the pupils and in the facilities for learning, are undoubtedly very great, it must be admitted that the wider range of acquisition under the present system is obtained at the expense of thoroughness. How, indeed, could it be otherwise, when the number of studies is so largely increased, while at the same time the hours of study are so considerably curtailed? The hours for school formerly averaged seven and a half per day. Now, they are five and a half. Vacations of six days in August and two at Thanksgiving, with five yearly holidays in addition to Saturday afternoons, were then all that were allowed, while at present one fourth of the year is given to vacations and holidays.

> "Yet is the schoolhouse rude,
> As is the chrysalis to the butterfly;
> To the rich flower, the seed. The dusty walls
> Hold the fair germ of knowledge, and the tree,
> Glorious in beauty, golden with its fruits,
> To this low schoolhouse traces back its life."

Sumner Hall was the first hall built for public gatherings, and was the largest in the town for some years. It was occu-

pied by Washington Lodge of Freemasons in the early part of the century. Funeral honors were here paid to the memory of Washington, on Tuesday, Jan. 14, 1800. A newspaper of the day furnishes the following account: —

"At sunrise the discharge of sixteen guns, by Capt. Jesse Dogget's company of artillery, and the tolling of the bells reminded the citizens that the appointed day had arrived. All business was suspended. At eleven A. M. the citizens and military of the town assembled at Sumner Hall and its vicinity, the bier was brought out of the hall and received by Capt. Barnes's company of infantry, and the procession moved down the main street to the Boston line, and then countermarched to Rev. Mr. Porter's meeting-house, in the following order: —

"Capt. Barnes's company, with arms reversed, the drums muffled, and the music playing a dead march; boys under fourteen accompanied by their instructors; youths between fourteen and eighteen years of age conducted by two drill sergeants; the infantry companies of Captains Dunster and Curtis; Capt. Dogget's artillery; Capt. Winchester's light infantry; Capt. Davis's troop of cavalry dismounted; music; Washington Lodge of Freemasons; reverend clergy; the bier carried by six sergeants; the pall supported by Major Bosson, Capts. Dogget, Winchester, Curtis, Dunster, and Davis; selectmen and committee of arrangements; town clerk; town treasurer, and overseers of the poor, followed by the citizens, four abreast.

"On arriving at the meeting-house, the children, the Freemasons, and the military opening and dressing in ranks with the escort, the bier and those who followed it passed through. As a token of grief each one in the ranks, except the escort, as the bier approached bowing his head a little, placed his right hand over his eyes until the bier had passed him. This had a very affecting appearance, especially in the children, who were very numerous. The bier was carried into the meeting-house and placed in front of the desk, one sergeant standing at the head, one at the foot, and two at each side during the service. After the prayer, by Rev. Mr. Bradford, a eulogy was delivered by Rev. Mr. Porter, which was afterward published. The vocal and instrumental music was under the direction of Mr. Ebenezer Brewer.

"While the procession was moving, minute guns 'with full loadings' were fired by a detachment of artillery, from the fort to the southwest of the meeting-house, and one of the pieces through the

identical embrasure from which the Americans discharged the first cannon against the British troops in Boston during the siege. The committee of arrangements consisted of twelve of the most prominent citizens, including Gen. Heath, Judge Lowell, Major Read, Ebenezer Seaver, Esq., and Nathaniel Ruggles, Esq. William Heath, Jr., and Samuel Blaney, acted as marshals, and the total expense to the town was the modest sum of one hundred and forty-two dollars."

As early as in 1699 there was a dwelling-house and shop on the spot now occupied by the "Blue Store," and judging from the apparent age of the latter and the solid character of the materials employed in its structure, they may be identical. Here James Howe, the baker, made bread for the American soldiers during the siege of Boston, and between it and the "great house" of Dr. Jonathan Davies, along the New Lane, now Warren Street, Col. Ebenezer Learned daily formed his regimental line. John Parker, afterwards of Parker's Hill, and Thomas Rumrill, father of William Rumrill, the carpenter, were apprentices with Howe. Rumrill and a fellow-apprentice who slept in the Metcalf house, adjoining the bakery, were aroused one night by an alarm of fire, and found that the upper part of the bake-house was in flames. Fortunately, a huge iron kettle filled with water was at hand. Seizing it, they carried it up the stairs and extinguished the flames. Next morning, although it was empty, their combined efforts were hardly adequate to the task of carrying it down.

In 1759 Edward Sumner gave to his daughter, Hannah Newman, this estate, containing half an acre, with the buildings thereon, described in the deed of gift as being "directly in front or opposite the house where I now live." Early in the present century this was a West India goods store, kept by Lewis and Brewer. So comprehensive was the assortment of goods in the old store that a bet was once made that whatever article might be called for would be on hand. The taker

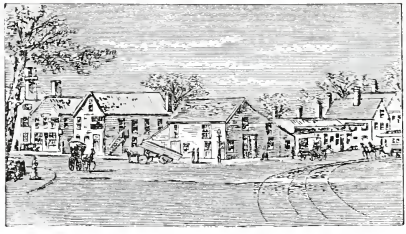
of the bet, supposing he had "a sure thing," called for "hen yokes," an unheard-of commodity, but to his astonishment they were promptly produced. Elijah Lewis, the senior partner, father of Ex-Mayor George Lewis, of Roxbury, built and lived in the brick dwelling-house adjoining. The large, square wooden mansion house beyond was the residence of Mr. Samuel Doggett.

Taber Street, originally named Union, laid out in 1802 and accepted in 1819, "began at the New Lane, between W. H. Sumner's land and the house of Andrew Newman, deceased, and continued by William Cummins's" on the northwest corner of Taber and Winslow Streets. It was named for Elnathan Taber, a native of New Bedford, of Quaker parentage, who came to Roxbury at the age of sixteen, served as an apprentice to Aaron Willard, and afterwards engaged in clock making on his own account. He was the first resident on the street.

Zeigler Street, named for George Zeigler, an active and enterprising citizen, was accepted and laid out in 1801, from Warren to Eustis Street, and has recently been extended to Washington Street. His is one of the very few names met with in the first two centuries in Roxbury indicative of any other than a pure English origin. The large square house, now Scott's carriage factory, was many years ago the residence of Charles, the brother of Aaron Davis.

The Auchmuty estate, originally Isaac Morrill's and afterwards Samuel Stevens's, contained fourteen acres, and was bought in August, 1733, of Joseph Scarborough by the elder Judge Auchmuty for £300. Its present boundaries, Warren, Cliff, Washington, and Dudley Streets, include hundreds of dwellings and stores and the Dudley Street Baptist Church. Soon after the death of the elder Auchmuty in April, 1750, Dr. Jonathan Davies bought of the widow about one half of the estate, the remainder coming into possession of the son. Upon the site of the old homestead, at the corner of Warren

and Glenwood Streets, he built, shortly after his marriage to Sarah Williams in 1781, the house yet standing, and which has evidently seen better days. Here the doctor, who was a noted practitioner, died early in 1801, at the age of eighty-five. This was for many years the residence of Mr. Joseph Adams. Dr. Davies had previously resided in the old house bought of Peter Seaver in 1758, in which William Dove, the



DOVE'S CORNER.

painter, afterwards lived; it was occupied for barracks during the siege, and was torn down to make room for the "Hotel Dartmouth."

The brick building seen on the left of the picture, once the residence of Samuel J. Gardner, a prominent lawyer, was afterwards for many years the home of Dr. Charles M. Windship, father of Dr. George B. Windship, the strong man, recently deceased. Dr. C. W. Windship, who married a daughter of George Zeigler, died here Aug. 27, 1852, aged seventy-nine. His father, also a distinguished physician, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, was surgeon of the "Bonne Homme Richard," Capt. John Paul Jones.

Robert Auchmuty the elder, by birth a Scotchman, studied law at the Temple, London, came to Boston about the year

1700, attained great eminence as a lawyer, and was judge of the Court of Admiralty for New England from 1733 until 1747. In 1741 he was sent to England as agent for Massachusetts in its boundary dispute with Rhode Island. While there he advocated the expedition to Cape Breton in an ably written pamphlet, published in April, 1744. This tract probably gave the historian Smollett the erroneous impression that Auchmuty was the originator of that brilliant enterprise, the credit of which belongs to Gov. Shirley. His services in the settlement of boundaries between Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island were so valuable, that in December, 1738, he received from the former a grant of two hundred acres of land. His talents were extraordinary, and he was famous for his wit and shrewdness. "Old Mr. Auchmuty," says a contemporary, "would sit up all night at his bottle, yet argue to admiration next day, and was an admirable speaker." To him, it was said, the profession in Massachusetts is mainly indebted for the high character it has since maintained.

Samuel, his son, rector of Trinity Church, New York, was the father of Sir Samuel, a lieutenant-general in the British army, distinguished as the conqueror of Montevideo in South America. A daughter, Isabella, became the wife of Benjamin Prat, afterward chief justice of New York. This gentleman, who had in his youth lost a leg by a fall from an apple-tree, had studied law in Auchmuty's office, and soon rose to the first rank in his profession. The graphic pen of John Adams, seizing upon the occasion of the memorable discussion of the writs of assistance in the council chamber of the Old State House in Boston, when, as he says, "the child Liberty was born," thus depicts Prat: "In a corner of the room must be placed as a spectator and an auditor, wit, sense, imagination, genius, pathos, reason, prudence, eloquence, learning, and immense reading, hanging by the shoulders on two crutches, covered with a great cloth coat, in the person of Mr. Prat,

who had been solicited on both sides, but could engage on neither, being as chief justice of New York about to leave Boston forever." This seems excessive praise, but John Adams never did anything by halves, and as he was not particularly given to eulogy, we must conclude that in this instance it was well merited.

The triangular space between Dudley and Warren Streets was two centuries ago the garden and nursery of Peter Gardiner, and was long known as "Gardiner's Green." Some of this land belonged to the town, and in 1785 a committee reported to a town meeting that the common land formerly there was so no longer, and that there was scarce width enough for the highways between Dr. Davies's land and Mr. Mears's "at or near the corner." Until the lower part of Warren Street was laid open, this was the point of beginning of the Braintree Road. This and the Warren estate beyond, originally belonged to John Leavens, one of the early proprietors of the town, who came over in 1632 in the same ship with Edward Winslow and Robert Gamblin. This most eligible site was asked for an Episcopal church in 1739, but the petition was not favorably considered, "a true Catholic spirit" toward "brethren in the faith" being as yet practically unknown. Almost a century was to elapse before churches of other than the "Orthodox" faith could be tolerated here, and it was not till 1833 that St. James's Church, in St. James Street, was established. The petition is as follows: —

"*To the Inhabitants of the Town of Roxbury:* —

"The memorial of us, the subscribers (and sundry others), inhabitants of said town sheweth, That by the blessing of God and the benevolence of divers Catholick and charitable disposed Christians, we purpose to build an Episcopal Church in this town. Its therefore prayed that you would grant soe much of the common ground near the house of Robert Auchmuty, Esq., as shall be thought needfull or proper for such a building, leaving sufficiency of road on all sides, and which we shall look upon as only just and equal, but an earnest of a true Catholic spirit to your brethren in the faith, which,

that the great God, the giver of every good thing, may ever establish between the true churches and the members thereof, are the devout prayer of us, the subscribers.

| | |
|---|---|
| "Leonard Lauckman | Francis Brinley |
| Richard Smith | Jona Pue |
| Robert Auchmuty | Lewis Vassall." |

Situated upon rising ground, a short distance south of Dudley Street, and approached from the west by Kearsarge

ADMIRAL WINSLOW.

Avenue, which once bore the name of Mount Vernon Place, is the Warren Cemetery, laid out by the First Religious Society in 1818 and given to the town in 1841. It has an area of about one and a half acres. South of it is the present building of the old Roxbury Grammar School, erected in 1853.

Kearsarge Avenue perpetuates the fame of Admiral John A. Winslow, a resident of Roxbury for nearly thirty years. His home was here, and in it his widow and daughter still reside. After his brilliant achievement of sinking the Con-

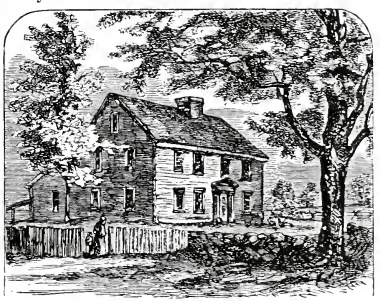
federate cruiser "Alabama" off Cherbourg, which, as has been well said, will never be forgotten "till the pilgrim can walk dry-shod from Calais to Dover," he was, on his return home, formally welcomed by the citizens of Roxbury on Nov. 22, 1864. The State of New Hampshire has fittingly testified its sense of his services to the country, by forwarding from the mountain that gave its name to Winslow's vessel, a granite bowlder, which his widow has placed over his remains at Forest Hills, with this inscription: —

REAR ADMIRAL
JOHN ANCRUM WINSLOW,
U. S. NAVY,
BORN WILMINGTON, N. C.,
Nov. 19, 1811,
DIED IN BOSTON, MASS.,
Sept. 29, 1873.
HE CONDUCTED THE MEMORABLE
SEA FIGHT IN COMMAND OF
U. S. SHIP "KEARSARGE"
IN THE ENGLISH CHANNEL,
June 19, 1864.
THIS BOWLDER FROM
KEARSARGE MT., MERRIMACK CO., N. H.,
IS THE GIFT
OF CITIZENS OF WARNER, N. H.,
AND IS ERECTED TO HIS MEMORY
BY HIS WIFE AND SURVIVING CHILDREN.

The Warren estate extended from Warren Place to Moreland Street, and contained seven acres. It was bought in 1687 by the general's grandfather, Joseph Warren, of John Leavens, who then occupied the dwelling-house on the estate. The Warren homestead was a cottage farm-house, built in 1720 by the first Joseph Warren, who was a housewright. It was in military occupation during the siege, Col. David Brewer's regiment being quartered here in the summer of 1775, and the grounds were "improved" for barracks. The brothers Ebenezer and Samuel Warren successively resided

in the old house, which, on the death of the latter in November, 1805, came into the possession of Dr. John C. Warren.

When in 1833 the estate was offered for sale, no one would give over a thousand dollars for it. The present value of the land alone is nearly half a million dollars. Real estate in Roxbury was therefore considered as worth no more at that



THE WARREN HOMESTEAD.

time than it was seventy years before, when this same estate was appraised at £292. When put up at auction and sold, it brought, to the astonishment of the spectators, five thousand two hundred and ninety dollars. At the sale Dr. John C. Warren reserved the site of the old house; and when it became impossible to preserve the old mansion any longer, he built in 1846 the stone cottage that now occupies the spot. An exact model of the old homestead, made partly of the original materials, is retained in the family. On the front of the present house are two tablets, bearing these inscriptions: —

"*On this spot stood the house erected in 1720 by Joseph Warren, of Boston, remarkable for being the birthplace of Gen. Joseph Warren, his grandson, who was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775.*"

"*John Warren, a distinguished physician and anatomist, was also born here. The original mansion being in ruins, this house was built by John C. Warren, M. D., son of the last named, as a permanent memorial of the spot.*"

The Warren farm contained many valuable fruit-trees. Here, it is claimed, originated the Roxbury Russeting, elsewhere known as the Boston Russeting, a fine apple, with a red bloom, keeping late in the spring, but which has greatly deteriorated. One hundred and twenty-three of these trees were cut down during the siege for military purposes, a very serious loss to Mrs. Warren, who depended very much upon their product for her support. Her husband, the father of the general, was killed by a fall from one of them in 1755. His son John, who was sent by his mother to call his father to dinner, met the body as two laborers were bearing it towards the house.

WARREN HOUSE.

Warren's father was a farmer, industrious, upright, and of good understanding, who filled several town offices with credit.

Mary, his widow, was the daughter of Dr. Samuel Stevens, and granddaughter of Robert Calef, whose courage and independence of character she transmitted to her famous son. Mrs. Warren was left with the charge of four sons. — Joseph, Samuel, who continued to live with his mother and cultivate the paternal estate, Ebenezer, and John. She attained an advanced age, was hospitable, kind, and benevolent, and continued until her death in 1803, at the age of ninety, to reside in the family mansion, where she was long an object of general interest. In her old age, when her own children had left their fireside to take their part in the active scenes of life, it was one of her dearest pleasures to gather a group of their children and the children of others around her, and to do all in her power to promote their enjoyment. On Thanksgiving day she depended on having all her children and grandchildren with her, and until she was eighty years of age she herself made the pies with which her table was loaded.

Joseph, her eldest son, born on June 11, 1741, graduated at Harvard College in 1759, and became a successful physician. A college anecdote shows his fearlessness. Several of his class, in the course of a frolic, shut themselves into a chamber, and barred the door so as to exclude him. Warren, bent on joining them, and seeing near the open window of the chamber a spout reaching from the roof to the ground, went to the housetop, walked to the spout, slid by it down to the window, and threw himself into the room. At this instant the spout fell, when he quietly remarked that it had served his purpose. In 1760–61 he taught the Roxbury Grammar School, at a salary of £44 16*s*. per annum.

He had a graceful figure and an elegant address, was scrupulously neat in person, and frank and genial in manner, — traits that made him a welcome visitor in polite circles, and a general favorite. He was especially attentive to the poor, to whom his hand was ever extended to afford relief. The political agitation of the day soon drew him into its vortex.

He wrote for the public journals, worked zealously in the private and public meetings of the patriots, and soon became a leader whose fervid oratory and tireless activity, together with his personal popularity, made him the peer of Samuel Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., as well as the idol of the people. In him they found not only the firmness and decision required in a leader, but prudence and wariness in all his plans. At the time of his death he was president of the Congress of Massachusetts, and chairman of the Committee of Public Safety, being thus virtually at the head of the new commonwealth.

JOSEPH WARREN.

At his own suggestion, Warren was selected to deliver the oration on March 5, 1775, commemorating the "Boston Massacre," in defiance of the threats of British officers that it would be at the price of the life of any man to speak on that anniversary. The patriots looked forward to the day with deep interest, and not without apprehension. There was "a prodigious concourse," and the Old South was crowded. About forty British officers in uniform filled the front pews or sat upon the pulpit stairs. There was some delay in the appearance of the orator, who at length entered the window back of the pulpit by a ladder. An awful stillness preceded his exordium. He began in a firm tone of voice, and proceeded with great energy and pathos. "Such another hour has seldom happened in the history of man, and is not surpassed in the records of nations." "It was provoking enough to the military," says Frothingham. Warren's

biographer, "that while there were so many troops stationed here with the design of suppressing town meetings, there should yet be one for the purpose of delivering an oration to commemorate a massacre perpetrated by soldiers, and to show the danger of standing armies." It is said that some of the officers groaned as the enthusiastic audience applauded. One of them, seated on the pulpit stairs, in the course of the delivery held up one of his hands, with several pistol bullets on the open palm, when the orator, observing the action, gracefully dropped a white handkerchief on them.

At Lexington, where he was said to have been the most active man on the field, a musket ball took off a lock of hair close to his ear. On that memorable occasion he delighted the people with his cool, collected bravery, and united the characters of the general, the soldier, and the physician. Here he was seen animating his countrymen to battle and fighting by their side, and there he was found administering to the wounded. Three of the brothers, Joseph, John, and Ebenezer, were in this battle. The latter, afterwards a judge of the Norfolk County Court of Common Pleas, was a deputy commissary at Roxbury during the siege. Warren's great influence was exerted in maintaining order and discipline amongst the troops that had hastily collected in the environs of Boston after the battle, and only three days before the engagement at Bunker's Hill he was made a major-general by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts.

He opposed the project of occupying Charlestown Heights on the ground of the lack of ammunition, but when the step was determined on, resolved to share in its dangers. To the entreaties of friends who would have held him back from the field, he replied, "I know that I may fall, but where is the man who does not think it delightful and glorious to die for his country?" Declining the command tendered him by Prescott, he took his station in the redoubt, which he was one of the last to leave, and fell near it, while slowly retiring.

Kossuth, the famous Hungarian orator and patriot, delivered an address to the people of Roxbury at Norfolk Hall, on May 10, 1852. He was told by the gentleman who formally extended to him the invitation of the citizens, that the reminiscences of Roxbury presented nothing particularly interesting to him, excepting its having been the home of John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians. "Pardon me," said Kossuth, "but was it not the birthplace of Warren?" "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country"; but the neglect of the people of Roxbury, after the lapse of a century, to erect a monument to her most illustrious son is indeed surprising. Besides the marble bust by Stephenson, on the engine-house in Dudley Street, the only other permanent memorial of Warren, in his native place, is the "Joseph Warren Monument Association," organized in 1860. There is a fine statue, by Dexter, in a building near the Bunker Hill Monument. Beyond the neat little Swedenborgian Church at the corner of St. James Street, is a small, wedge-shaped strip of ground once ambitiously named "St. James Park," but not by any means to be regarded as the rival of that famous London pleasure-ground. From its proximity to the old homestead, this would be a most eligible site for the proposed Warren monument.

Opposite the Warren house, at the corner of Cliff Street, there was a wooden structure built originally for the Baptist society, but subsequently sold to the Methodists, who removed it in 1852 to this spot. Early on Sunday morning, March 29, 1868, it was totally destroyed by fire, and so intense was the heat that the church-bell was melted by the flames into an indistinguishable mass.

William Mead, who died in 1683, leaving no descendants, gave house and land, all his worldly possessions, to the Roxbury Grammar School. "Mead's orchard," the land referred to, extended from below Tolman Place to the corner of Walnut Avenue. The house now occupied by Mr. J. J.

Munroe, the painter, the front portion of which is very old, is probably that in which Mead resided. It was built in the style of two centuries ago, and until its alteration by its present owner its roof sloped at the rear nearly to the ground. The old building contained three ovens. Being the property of the school, it was often the residence of its teachers in the olden time, one of whom, Dr. N. S. Prentiss, occupied it in 1807.

MEAD'S HOUSE.

The land on the opposite side of Warren Street, now Rockville Place, was not long ago a rocky ledge, higher than the tops of the houses now standing upon it. The rising ground near Montrose Avenue was once known as Gorton's Hill, from John Gorton, an early resident here, who in 1653 had leave from the town "to brew and sell penny beare and cakes and white bread." His estate of six acres was called the "Wolf Trap." The area now included in Montrose and Forest Avenues was known later as Warren's Pasture. One of Paul Dudley's milestones stood until recently on the opposite side of the road.

Donald Kennedy's residence, between Waverley and Clifford Streets, was built about 1764, by Samuel Hawes, who inherited a portion of the Holbrook property, and whose son Benjamin occupied it until 1836. At that time the mania for silk-growing was very prevalent, and the Roxbury Land Company bought the estate for a mulberry plantation. The solid oak timber in the frame of the house was cut from the place itself. Here the "Doctor," as he is called, who is

well known as a genial, warm-hearted, and public-spirited man, has resided since 1844. When quite young, Donald Kennedy came to this country from Scotland, his native land, and after working in a tannery in Roxbury, commenced in a small way the manufacture and sale of his famous "Medical Discovery," from which he has realized a fortune.

A portion of Copeland, Waverley, Clifford, and Woodbine Streets is within the limits of the estate of the late Augustus Perrin, and formerly belonged to Hon. John Read. Some seven acres on Warren Street were inherited by Benjamin and John H. Hawes from Capt. John Holbrook, to whom his brother Daniel in 1787 bequeathed thirty-seven acres lying between this locality and Dorchester, on both sides of Blue Hill Avenue. The Perrin property, which was acquired in the manila straw hat manufacture, had its origin in the charitable bestowal of a dinner by Mr. Perrin's mother, upon a sick and destitute sailor, who in return, taught young Perrin the mystery of weaving manila straw, an art then wholly unknown in this country. The sailor had on one of these hats, and seeing that it attracted the boy's attention told him that if he would procure the straw he would show him how to make them. The widowed mother was then living with her children in Spring Street, West Roxbury, and there the business was begun. First the boy, then the mother, and afterwards one of his sisters acquired the art, which soon grew to such dimensions, that the family removed to Boston, and established the business upon a more extended scale. The large brick building known as the Old Ladies' Home, between Copeland and Waverley Streets, was long the residence of Mr. Perrin.

Maywood Street indicates the locality known as May's Woods, where was formerly a pond, and was also a part of the John Read estate. Opposite this street, about midway between Warren Street and Walnut Avenue, there was, till quite recently, a portion of the old wall at the southern limit

of John Eliot's lot, which, it is not improbable, made part of its original boundary. South of Eliot's pasture was an eight-acre lot, originally Edward Bugbee's. The land on both sides of Gaston and Roslyn Streets, and including a part of Mr. Samuel Little's estate, was once the property of Aaron White, the owner of the Mount Pleasant farm. On the corner of Quincy Street there was a tavern, kept many years ago by John White.

The old farm-house on the French, formerly the John Lewis estate, has near it an old pear-tree, from which originated the excellent winter fruit known as the Lewis pear, first described and brought into notice by Samuel Downer of Dorchester. The estate of forty acres includes French's Woods, which is, with the region about it, according to the late Prof. Agassiz, one of the most interesting spots to the geologist in New England. Huge bowlders of conglomerate are strewn around here in most admired disorder, evidently the result of glacial action.

One of these, the Roxbury "Rocking Stone," a famous natural curiosity, was located on the Munroe farm, and may yet be seen in the northwest corner of Mr. J. P. Townsend's estate, on Townsend Street. Strangers came from a distance to gaze and wonder, and it even attracted scientific observers. This bowlder was removed many years since, tradition says, by old Deacon Munroe, who had been so annoyed by visitors to the rock who trampled down his vegetables, that he hired a number of men, who with crow-bars displaced it, after great effort, from its original position. The stone remains at a distance of ten or twelve feet from its old site, but the rock has disappeared.

The approach to Elm Hill, formerly the residence of Mr. Rufus Greene Amory, now that of Mrs. J. D. W. Williams, is through a lane bordered by large elm-trees, one of which, at a distance of twelve feet from the ground, is twenty-five feet in circumference. A singular object is to be seen in the

stone fence back of the field to the right of this lane. It is a large elm-tree trunk, making with its two lower branches twenty-five feet of the horizontal wall, and presenting a surface as flat as though it had been planed.

The mansion house, built early in the present century, is finely situated on elevated ground, the large open field in its front sloping gradually down to the street and affording an opening for a magnificent view of the city and harbor. To add to its attractiveness, Mrs. Amory and her four charming daughters made it a seat of elegant hospitality and social enjoyment, and it had numerous visitors. These young ladies were afterwards Mrs. Joseph L. Cunningham, Mrs. Col. Freeman, Mrs. Dr. Jeffries, and Mrs. Edward L. Cunningham. Mr. Amory's brothers, John and Thomas Amory, and a sister, Mrs. John Lowell, were at the same time residents of Roxbury, the mansions of the two former being on Amory Street.

Much of the costly furniture at Elm Hill, belonging to the period of Louis Quinze, is said to have originally graced the châteaus of the French *noblesse*, who either emigrated, or were guillotined during the Revolution.

S. G. Reed's estate, formerly Daniel Bugbee's, comes next. Here, in 1794, Ebenezer Bugbee, tanner, owned five acres and the buildings thereon. For many years he kept a tavern here, a two-story house painted red, a little back from the road on the westerly side, where Mr. William A. Simmons now resides.

The Grove Hall mansion, built in the year 1800, and for many years the residence of Thomas Kilby Jones, a Boston merchant, was remodelled a few years since, and is now known as the "Consumptives' Home." Situated at the intersection of Washington Street and Blue Hill, formerly Grove Hall Avenue, it occupies a conspicuous and sightly position, and is surrounded with ample grounds. The estate of ten acres, originally the homestead of Samuel Payson, was owned by John Goddard early in the last century. It was afterwards

the site of Stephen Kent's tavern, which, after his death in 1767, was kept for more than thirty years by his widow. The "Home" was founded in 1862 by Dr. Charles Cullis, upon the plan of Müller's famous orphan asylum. He began without any funds, and depends upon daily contributions to supply its daily wants. Dr. Cullis calls this institution a "work of faith," and looks upon the contributions he receives as direct answers to his prayers. The usual number of patients is from thirty-five to fifty. All poor persons sick with consumption are freely admitted, irrespective of age or color.

Beyond Grove Hall, and partly within the ancient limits of Dorchester, lie the mansion and grounds of Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, whose eminent services in behalf of the agricultural and horticultural interests of our country have rendered his name almost a household word throughout the land. The house, which has been recently altered, was built on what was known as the Morgan farm, by Increase Sumner. During the siege of Boston, it was the place of refuge and residence of his widow and children, one of whom was the future governor of the State. Mr. Wilder's pear orchard contains nearly one thousand varieties of that fruit. On the opposite side of Columbia Street is the cottage in which Gen. William H. Sumner once resided.

Near the corner of Schuyler Street and Blue Hill Avenue, is the house once occupied by Hon. Ebenezer Seaver. The street, named for him, and extending from Brush Hill Turnpike, now Blue Hill Avenue, to Walnut Avenue, was formerly designated "The Long Crouch." Robert Seaver, his emigrant ancestor, whose homestead was on Stony River, came over in the "Mary and John," in 1634, was a freeman in 1637, and died in 1682, leaving numerous descendants. Hon. Ebenezer Seaver, "the Squire" as he was commonly called, was very prominent in town politics, being frequently chosen moderator of town meetings, and also one of the selectmen, generally chairman of the board, and administering

town affairs with scrupulous integrity, wisdom, and economy. He had long enjoyed the honorable title of "Father of the Town," when on his retirement from public service, in 1839, he received the thanks of the town for his "long, faithful, and unremitting services for nearly forty years past."

He was for some years a member of the Legislature, was in Congress from 1803 to 1813, and one of the Committee on Foreign Affairs that reported a manifesto as the basis of the declaration of war with England in 1812, and was a member of the convention which in 1820 amended the State Constitution. He was a lifelong Democrat, and Gov. Eustis, Major Read, and Squire Seaver formed a trio of political cronies whose influence was felt by their party throughout the State. John Randolph gave him the title of "the old Warhawk of the Democracy." Though a graduate of Harvard College, he preferred the occupation of a farmer to either of the learned professions, and closed a useful and honorable life on March 4, 1844.

HON. EBENEZER SEAVER.

As exemplifying the simple methods then in use in transacting the public business of the town, no less than the confidence and trust reposed in its public servants, it may be mentioned that on Mr. Seaver's retirement from the chairmanship of the board of selectmen, all the auditing and bookkeeping occasioned by the transfer, consisted in his pulling out a roll of bills which he passed over to his successor, with the remark that it was "all right," — as it undoubtedly was. His grandson, Mr. Augustus Parker, who inherited and

resides upon the estate of Mr. Seaver, inherited also his grandfather's taste for agriculture, a pursuit in which he has been highly successful. One of the products of the Seaver farm is the fine apple known as the "Seaver Sweeting."

Returning to Walnut Avenue, formerly Back Street, and anciently "the Way to the Great Lotts, next Gamblin's End, and so to Rocky Swamp," our starting-point, is the locality once known as "Clewly's Corner," where were formerly two grist-mills. Clewly's lot extended from the school land at the corner of Walnut Avenue (Mead's orchard) to Circuit Street, and up the hill to Fountain Street. His house stood where the frame building occupied by Mr. Wiswall stands, at the corner of Mount Warren. In 1737 Joseph Clewly petitioned the town for a small strip of land, having, as he says, "purchased a grist mill with design to serve his good neighbors as well as himself, and so finds it necessary to build a small granary in order to lay in a supply of grain while y^e^ same is cheapest." In 1741 he was allowed by the town of Boston to remove his grist-mill from Roxbury and to set it on Fort Hill.

To the west of Clewly's lies the locality known as "Tommy's Rock," a rough and stony region, originally the "Rocky Pasture," and sufficiently elevated to afford a fine view towards the southwest. Its name was derived from Tom Hommagen, an old negro, who lived near the Swiss cottage on Circuit Street, near Washington. In requital for professional services, Tom bequeathed his body to Dr. Windship, and this delightful *memento mori* was long the skeleton in the doctor's closet. At the foot of Tommy's Rock is the Roman Catholic Church of St. Joseph, built in 1846. Opposite, is a square stone building belonging to it, only noteworthy for having been subjected to the visitation of a "smelling" committee of the Legislature in Native American times. A small cemetery adjoins the church.

Emerging here from the region of brick and mortar, one

sees upon every side, in the handsome residences and lovely grounds that line the avenue, such evidences of the wealth and taste of their owners, as make this one of the most attractive of the many fine avenues in the vicinity of the metropolis. Among its noticeable features are the chapel of the Walnut Avenue Religious Society, on the corner of Dale Street, and the fine residences of Messrs. Fenno, Chadwick, the late Horatio Harris, Aaron D. Williams, and William V. Hutchings.

The chapel, the residence of Mr. Fenno, and the Lewis School stand on the thirty-acre pasture, once the apostle Eliot's, extending from the intersection of Warren and Walnut nearly to Bower Street. To the south lay "the Great Lotts" and "Fresh Meadow." Less than half a century ago this fine avenue was a narrow road, from the sides of which large coveys of quails would frequently start up. Eighty years ago it contained but six houses, — the "Bugbee" house, the Abijah Seaver house, opposite to and not far from Chadwick's, J. D. Williams's house, Deacon Samuel Sumner's, Stedman Williams's, and the Scarborough house. The four last named are yet standing.

South of Clewly's and extending as far as Dale Street was a thirteen-acre lot belonging to Edward Sumner. Just this side of Dale Street a brook, originating in May's Pond, formerly crossed the road and flowed into Smelt Brook. The large square house a little to the north of it is on the site of the old house of Daniel Bugbee, and also the homestead of his ancestor, Edward Bugbee, an early settler of the town, which having fallen to decay, was pulled down by some young men for a frolic, many years ago.

Beyond Dale Street and a little to the west of the avenue, lies Washington Park, upon which is an eminence called Honeysuckle Hill. All this territory extending westward to Washington Street and southeast of the Maccarty farm was the estate of Abijah Seaver, grandfather of Benjamin, mayor

of Boston in 1852 and 1853, and a descendant of Robert the emigrant. Midway between Dale and Townsend Streets, dividing the Seaver estate into two nearly equal parts, and having a front of some eight hundred feet on Walnut Avenue, came the southern boundary of the Maccarty farm, an extensive tract reaching nearly to Centre Street on the west. In 1836, the period of Eastern land speculation, the "Roxbury Land Company" purchased the Seaver and other adjacent estates, and soon owned all the land between the Dedham Turnpike and Walnut Avenue, from St. James Street to the Kingsbury estate beyond Townsend Street.

The Munroe farm of twenty-two acres, between Munroe and Townsend Streets, was bought by the town in 1829 of Deacon Nehemiah Munroe. A large part of this land, which is very rocky, and which adjoins the French estate, was conveyed to him by William Dorr in 1784. The western portion of this territory, fronting the avenue, constitutes a small park of great natural beauty. South of it lies the fine estate and residence of the late Horatio Harris.

The old Williams homestead, on the corner of Oriole Street, is well preserved, but it has been greatly modernized. The fine large elm back of it gives to the old mansion a comfortable, homelike air. Upon this estate, which contained about fifty acres, originated the "Williams Favorite," a large and handsome dessert apple, worthy of a place in every garden. It is a fact that the apple-tree, set out so extensively by the first settlers here, soon produced a fruit superior in size and flavor to what it had borne in England. Opposite the residence of Mr. William V. Hutchings and just beyond Westminster Avenue, is the Kingsbury house, which stands on the farm once the property of Stephen Williams, son of Col. Joseph Williams, who lived in Perrin's Lane, now Bartlett Street. The old farm-house beyond, once the residence of Deacon Sumner, is in a very dilapidated condition. A little daughter of the deacon's, who fell into the old well belonging

to the place and was rescued, became the grandmother of Ex-Mayor Lewis.

Mr. Moses Williams, a descendant of Robert, whose homestead we have already visited, and who, though eighty-eight years of age, retains his physical and mental vigor to a won-

J. D. WILLIAMS'S HOUSE.

derful degree, has kindly furnished some reminiscences of this region, so familiar to his boyhood. He says: —

"The two Williams houses on Walnut Avenue, the one now owned by Aaron D. Williams and the one formerly owned by my brother Stedman Williams, were previously owned by my grandfather, Capt. John Williams. By his will he gave the former to my father, the latter to my uncle, Jonathan Williams, who was married, and who occupied it twenty years or more. He then sold it to my father, and removed to Lunenburg, Mass. My father bought it with the farm about it for my brother Stedman, who moved into it when he was married, and lived in it until he died.

"The old house on the east side of Walnut Avenue, situated about half-way between A. D.'s and Stedman's, belonged eighty or

ninety years ago to Deacon Samuel Sumner. He had two wives, and I have always understood that he obtained the estate in right of his first wife, who was a Williams. I thus am well satisfied that all three of these houses and bordering estates were built and owned by my ancestors. A. D. Williams's house and my brother Stedman's were originally lean-tos. My father altered his and gave it the form it now has, before my remembrance; and I remember when my brother Stedman altered his. I do not think that my grandfather built the two houses which he gave to my father and uncle, but my great-grandfather probably did.

"Scarborough was uncle to my father by marriage. He married a Williams, but left no children. His house was the one now owned by Mr. Ellicot. It was at one time the residence of Samuel Wait, and is at the bend of the road on the north side of the avenue as far up as Forest Hills."

Among the early Roxbury names, now extinct here, is this of Scarborough. It is, however, kept in remembrance as the name given to the street leading from the corner of the avenue, where the estate originally was, to Morton Street. John Scarborrow, admitted a freeman in 1640, "was slaine the 4th of the 9th month 1646, charging a great gunne." Samuel, the last of the Roxbury Scarboroughs, died here in 1789. South and southwest of the Scarborough estate, which contained eighty-two acres, lay the common land of the town, the last of which was sold in 1812, to Samuel Waitt. Upon the Scarborough homestead there was a majestic tree, beneath whose spreading branches the tired minute-men from Lexington were fed, by one who, when an ancient dame, loved to recall the past. Much of the

STEDMAN WILLIAMS'S HOUSE.

land beyond School Street on both sides of the avenue remains unimproved, and well merits its old titles of "Rocky Pasture" and "Rocky Bottom."

Lucius Manlius Sargent built, and for many years resided in the cottage in the midst of a grove on Rock Hill, near the southwest corner of Seaver Street and Walnut Avenue, now the residence of Rev. A. H. Plumb. Mr. Sargent, who was a fine scholar, was also well known as a writer under the *nom de plume* of "Sigma," and rendered efficient service to the cause of temperance both as a lecturer and an author. His series of "Temperance Tales" passed through one hundred and thirty editions, and was reprinted in many languages. His writings were characterized by honesty of opinion and boldness and vigor of style. He was six feet in height and admirably proportioned, was fond of horseback riding, and was an athlete in muscular power. He had a finely formed and uncommonly large head, oval face, gray, penetrating eyes, well-formed mouth, and a Roman nose. He was affable, genial, and kind-hearted, and was admired and loved for his many generous and noble qualities.

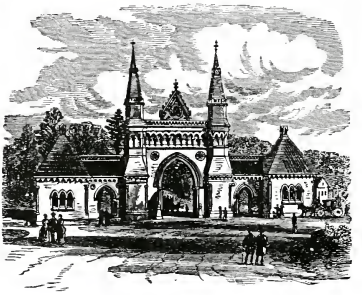
The wall-paper on the parlor of the Stedman Williams house, near the corner of Glen Road, is unique. It is nearly one hundred years old, represents an English landscape, and is as fresh and perfect in color and appearance as if put on yesterday. The painter, Gilbert Stuart, who passed here a portion of his Roxbury sojourn, has left appropriate mementos of it in two oil portraits of Stedman Williams and Betsey his wife, daughter of Col. Joseph Williams. Tradition says there were serious misgivings as to the prudence of this match. The young lady was for those days highly accomplished, and all unused to the detail and drudgery of farm life, but it is certain that she performed the duties devolving upon her in a most exemplary manner.

Forest Hill Street was, half a century ago, known as "Jube's Lane," having but one habitation upon it, — "a

wretched collection of hovels and sheds occupied by a Moorish-looking man named Jupiter, who kept swine, and who had a bevy of wild-eyed children." On this street is the house built in 1833 by S. G. Goodrich, best known as "Peter Parley," and in which he lived many years. He achieved fame by his books for children, of which a fabulous number were sold, and which gave him a world-wide celebrity. He represented his district in the Massachusetts Senate in 1837 and 1838, and was a prominent speaker in behalf of temperance and of the political organization known as the Whig party. Mr. Goodrich is described at this time as "tall and slender, graceful in lineament and speech, with a classic face, wearing gold-bowed spectacles that gave him an aristocratic air, and upon public occasions charming all with his eloquence."

Prolonging our walk a short distance we come to Morton Street, from which Forest Hills Avenue conducts us to the beautiful cemetery of that name, consecrated on June 28, 1848. Much of its territory, naturally picturesque and diversified, and now so tastefully embellished, was wild land not long ago, and as Roxbury Common was almost valueless, save as the source of the town's fuel supply for its schools and its ministers. The filling up of the old graveyards, and their repulsive condition, moved Gen. Dearborn and other citizens, in 1846, to petition the newly established city government of Roxbury for a rural cemetery. The purchase of the Joel Seaverns farm of fifty-five acres for that purpose was the result, and to this other pieces of land adjoining have from time to time been added. This cemetery, located in "Canterbury," near the geographical centre of the town, and bounded by Morton, Canterbury, and Walk Hill Streets, has now an area of two hundred and twenty-six acres. The approaches to it are over excellent roads, by well-cultivated grounds and charming rural residences, affording the most agreeable of the many delightful drives in the vicinity of Boston.

The work of laying out the grounds of this "Garden of the Dead" was assigned to Gen. H. A. S. Dearborn, who did so much to secure its establishment, and whose skill and taste had been so successfully exerted at Mount Auburn. Hill and dale, lake and grove, picturesque rocks, cool grottos, fragrant flower-beds, and ever-varying landscapes render this an



FOREST HILLS GATEWAY.

exceedingly attractive spot; and a saunter through its principal avenues, with their beautiful monuments and interesting inscriptions, is a pleasure long to be remembered.

The original wooden gateway, with its Egyptian designs, gave place, in 1865, to the present tasteful structure of Roxbury stone and Caledonia freestone, in the style known as the modern Gothic. Upon its front, in golden letters, is this inscription: —

"I AM THE RESURRECTION AND THE LIFE":

and upon its inner face: —

"HE THAT KEEPETH THEE WILL NOT SLUMBER."

At the left of the entrance, near Lake Dell, is an elegant marble receiving-tomb, the finest in the country, built in 1870. Its catacombs, two hundred and eighty-six in number, are five tiers deep, and are ranged on each side of arched passages ten feet wide, paved with white and black marble tiles. It has a Gothic portico of white Concord granite, and its floor is covered with French tiles. On either side of the arched doorway are wall spaces for mural tablets or inscriptions.

Three avenues diverge towards different parts of the cemetery from the main entrance, opposite which, on Snowflake Hill, is a stone bell-tower and observatory one hundred feet in height, completed in 1876. From it is obtained a magnificent view of the Blue Hills, the surrounding towns, and several of the islands in Dorchester Bay.

The eminences that gave the cemetery its name are the Eliot Hills, a range of four heights in its southwestern part: Consecration Hill, at its northeastern angle; Chapel Hill, north of Lake Dell; the large hill south of Consecration Hill, named for the illustrious Warren; and Cypress Hill, overlooking the neighboring cemetery of Mount Hope, and presenting to the view an extensive and pleasing rural landscape. Lake Hibiscus, a charming sheet of water, is near the centre of the cemetery, and is approached by avenues from its different parts. It was formerly a meadow supplied by copious springs, and has an area of three acres. One of the most attractive spots at Forest Hills is the grotto on Dearborn Hill.

Some of the more striking and picturesque of the numerous bowlders scattered over the ground have been suffered to remain in their natural state. One of the most remarkable of these groups is in the lot of Gen. William H. Sumner, on the western slope of Mount Warren, where stands a statue of great beauty, representing the Angel of the Tomb protecting the ashes of the dead. The Sumner shield and arms, also a medallion head, ornament the base of the statue.

Among the eminent men whose ashes repose in this cemetery are Gen. Warren, Gen. Heath, and Admiral Winslow. Many superb monuments and simple inscriptions attest alike the taste and skill of the sculptor, and the strong affection of surviving kindred. The "Ascending Angel," on the Gould lot, "Memory," on Lake Avenue, and those of Dwight, Perkins, and Lovering, are especially noticeable. From such a bewildering multitude of marbles, it is a relief to turn to the ivy-mantled bronze tablets, let into the natural rock, commemorating those patriotic young soldiers, Wilder and Howard Dwight. On the summit of Mount Warren, in a lot in the shape of a half-moon, the ashes of Gen. Warren with others of his family have been reinterred, after being taken from their original resting-places. In the soldiers' lot is a statue in bronze of a volunteer soldier, by the sculptor Milmore. It is nearly seven feet in height, on a pedestal of six, and is a memorial of the volunteers from Roxbury in the war for the Union.

One has but to place in imagination this beautiful cemetery side by side with the neglected and dilapidated Eustis Street graveyard of thirty years ago, to appreciate the beneficent labors of the man who sleeps on yonder hill. The Dearborn monument, on the summit of Mount Dearborn, near the lot in which the general was interred, is an elegant Corinthian column of white marble, on a base which extends by scrolls on each side to smaller pedestals bearing funeral urns. The shaft is surmounted by a funeral urn with flame. On the front of the base is a raised tablet inscribed as follows; —

H. A. S. DEARBORN,
OBIIT JULII 29, 1851,
ÆTAT 67.

And on the opposite side:

"OSSA IN TERRA
QUAM DILEXIT, COLUIT, ORNAVIT,
CIVES ET AMICI MŒRENTES
CONDIMUS."

At the corner of Walk Hill and Canterbury Streets is an old house, now owned by E. M. Fowler, which was built by Stephen Williams more than a century ago. The old house, now Lambert's, once the Isaac Williams house, stands on the opposite side of Canterbury Street, a little east of Fowler's. Another Williams mansion of a later date is that on Back Street, in which lived Benjamin Payson Williams, a man of high character, and who filled with credit numerous public stations.

Mount Hope Cemetery, on Canterbury Street, a little south of Forest Hills, lies partly in Dorchester, and contains over one hundred acres. It was consecrated on June 24, 1852, and on July 31, 1857, its proprietors transferred it to the city of Boston. This cemetery is located in an attractive valley, and besides the natural beauty of the grounds and their floral and other embellishments, contains some fine monuments, notably the army and navy monument, and the Odd Fellows' Memorial, a group representing David and Jonathan, by Thomas Ball.

## CHAPTER VII.

### MEETING-HOUSE HILL.

Smelt Brook. — Dudley Estate. — Thomas Dudley. — Joseph Dudley. — Paul Dudley. — Isaac Winslow. — Town House — Hourlies. — Roxbury Common. — Siege of Boston. — Gen. Thomas. — Roxbury Camp. — Annals of the Siege. — The First Church. — Church Music. — Eliot's Church Record.

HAVING hitherto followed the old highway from Boston over the Neck, to a point where the natural configuration of the ground admitted of lateral roads, that to Dorchester on the left, and the Cambridge road on the right, we find ourselves at Smelt Brook, a small stream, that, flowing in a northerly direction across Dudley Street, through the home lots of Heath, Weld, Denison, and Johnson, finally lost itself in the marshes near the mouth of Stony River. This stream, once so considerable, and whose waters supplied with piscatory delicacies the scantily furnished tables of the early settlers, has wholly disappeared from view, if we except that of the poet, who asserts that

> "Men may come, and men may go,
> But I flow on forever,"

and its bed lies buried twenty feet below the present level of the street across which it originally ran. To the westward of it, and south of the Cambridge road, lay the Dudley estate and Meeting-House Hill.

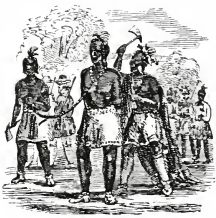
The Universalist Church covers the site of Gov. Dudley's mansion, and his well, the sole remaining memento of it, is still in existence beneath that edifice. Rumor has it that this mansion was the one originally erected at Newtown

(Cambridge), removed thence on the governor's change of residence in 1636, and concerning which Gov. Winthrop charged him with extravagance in having it wainscoted. Dudley replied to the charge, that the extravagance complained of was "only for the warmth of the house, and the cost small, and that the wainscoting consisted only of clapboards nailed to the wall in the form of wainscoting." In its day, this was one of the best houses in the town. It contained two parlors, a parlor chamber, a hall chamber, study, and other rooms. The library, consisting principally of religious treatises and law books, contained also a few volumes of history, and a poem, "Y^e^ Vision of Piers Plowman." Few of the early settlers could afford the luxury of books, their scant collections consisting mainly of the writings of Puritan divines.

The old mansion was razed to the ground a few days after the battle of Bunker's Hill, and its brick basement walls, facing north and east, made the angle of the work that was erected here by the Americans. The entrenchments at this point included the garden, and extended to the hill east of the meeting-house. These were ploughed down soon after the close of the war, by Gov. Sumner, who for some years previous to his decease enjoyed possession of the land in right of his wife. In making the necessary excavations for the church, the wine cellar of the mansion was unearthed, and, strange as it may seem, the liquors were, after a lapse of forty-five years, found intact.

Miantonomoh, the great sachem of Narragansett, came here in 1640, and was "well entertained" by Gov. Dudley; but refusing to treat by a Pequod interpreter, — and no greater insult could have been offered to the proud warrior, — departed for Boston "in a rude manner," says Winthrop, "without shewing any respect or sign of thankfulness to the governor for his entertainment." A contemporary tells us that this sachem "was a very good personage, of tall stature,

subtile and cunning in his contrivements, as well as haughty in his designs." When before the Court at Boston, he was very deliberate in his answers, "shewing a good understanding in the principles of equity and justice, and great ingenuity." He demanded that his accusers be brought before him face to face, and if they failed in proof then to be made to suffer what himself, if he had been found guilty, deserved, *i. e.*, death. Defeated in a battle with Uncas, a rival chieftain, whom he had attacked unawares, he was made prisoner, being unable to escape on account of the armor with which his friend Samuel Gorton had provided him for the security of his person. The haughty sachem disdained to ask for his life, and Uncas, who was disposed to bury the hatchet, acting upon the advice of the magistrates and ministers of the colony, buried it in the skull of his defenceless captive. At a later period Gov. Shute was, on his arrival in Boston, for a time the guest of Chief-Justice Paul Dudley, and we may be certain that during the entire colonial period no New England mansion entertained a larger number of visitors of distinction.



DEATH OF MIANTONOMOH.

The Dudley homestead, containing between five and six acres, lay between what are now Washington and Bartlett Streets on the south, and Roxbury Street on the north, extending from Guild Row to Putnam Street, the eastern boundary of the land of the First Parish. Smelt Brook was originally the eastern boundary of the homestead.

Thomas, eldest son of Col. William Dudley, came in possession of the estate on the death of Judge Paul Dudley, it

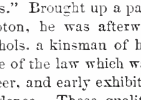
being entailed on the first male heir. He had several children, but his brother Joseph had none, and wished him to take the paternal estate, and keep up the style of the family. Thomas, whose habits were those of a rough farmer, declined doing this, professing his inability to take charge of the estate in the way desired by his brother, telling him that if he insisted on his residing there and supporting the ancient manner of living, he should put his oxen into the governor's carriage instead of the family horses. Joseph urged the matter, and Thomas tried the experiment, and to show his contempt for ceremony or style, actually told his coachman to yoke his oxen into the family carriage, and then getting into it ordered him to drive to Wood's, the pewterer, in Roxbury Street, where he bought a pewter cider mug, and then directed him to "gee round" and return home. This laughable escapade threw so much ridicule on the family honors, that it induced Joseph to exchange "the good farm in the woods," the residence of Col. William Dudley, with his brother for the old homestead. The entail was accordingly broken in his favor, and he occupied the family mansion until his removal to Boston, when it became the residence of Isaac Winslow, Esq. By his will, dated June 13, 1767, Joseph entailed it for the benefit of his nephew, William Dudley.

Mr. Hyslop, the father-in-law of Increase Sumner, purchased of Joseph a portion of the estate, and gave it to his daughter, who held possession until 1806, when Joseph, eldest son of William Dudley, recovered it by a suit at law. At this period, these acres, now covered with handsome buildings, were an open field, with a pretty high hill where the Eliot Church stands. In 1811 that part of Dudley Street west of Washington was laid out through the estate and accepted by the town with its present name, and in 1825 the land on both sides of it having been alienated by Col. Dudley, its unthrifty owner, was cut up into house-lots and sold.

The distinguished family who flourished here for a century

and a quarter, and whose name and fame are inseparably connected with Roxbury, played in its time an important part in the affairs of New England. It furnished two of its governors, a chief justice, and a Speaker of the House, besides other less prominent but useful and honored citizens, and numbers among its descendants many personages of note. A few only of the name now remain in Roxbury.

Thomas Dudley, second governor of Massachusetts, and one of the most eminent of the Puritan settlers of New England, was the son of Capt. Roger Dudley, who was "slaine in the wars." Brought up a page in the family of the Earl of Northampton, he was afterwards a clerk in the office of Judge Nichols, a kinsman of his mother, thus obtaining a knowledge of the law which was of great service to him in his after career, and early exhibited unusual intelligence, courage, and prudence. These qualities procured for him at the age of twenty-one the captaincy of an English company, which he led at the siege of Amiens, under the heroic Henry of Navarre, and later on, the stewardship of the estate of the Earl of Lincoln, which he succeeded, by judicious management, in freeing from a heavy load of debt. A Puritan, and a parishioner of the famous John Cotton, he with four others undertook, although he was then fifty years of age, the settlement of the Massachusetts Colony, and came over with the charter as deputy governor in 1630. His letter to the Countess of Lincoln depicts clearly and forcibly the trials and obstacles that beset the pioneers to the western wilderness. Dudley at first settled in Newtown, but removed to Roxbury to place himself under the spiritual charge of Eliot and Welde. In 1644, at the age of sixty-eight, Dudley was chosen sergeant major-general, the highest military office in the colonies. He was governor in 1634, 1640, 1645, and 1650, and deputy governor or assistant in the intervening years, and from the time of his arrival until



his death, which took place at his home in Roxbury, on July 31, 1653, in his seventy-seventh year.

Dudley was a man of sound judgment, inflexible integrity, great public spirit, and exemplary piety. How strongly he was imbued with the intolerance of his age, is evident from the prominent part he took in the banishment of Roger Williams, Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinson, and others. "I am fully persuaded," said he, "that Anne Hutchinson is deluded by the devil." To an inquiry from Holland, whether those that differed from him in opinion, "yet holding the same foundation in religion, as anabaptists, antinomians, seekers, and the like, might be permitted to live among you," he made this short answer: "God forbid our love to the truth should be grown so cold that we should tolerate errors." In his will he bears this testimony, "I have hated and doe hate every false way in religion, not onely the old Idolatry and Superstition of Popery, which is wearing away, but much more (as being much worse) the more heresies, blasphamies and error of late sprung upp in our native country of England and secretly received and fostered." Time brings his revenges, and it is worth noting, that on the site of the dwelling of Thomas Dudley, one of the most intolerant of men, now stands a Universalist Church. After his death these lines were found in his pocket: —

> "Let men of God in courts and churches watch
> O'er such as do a toleration hatch,
> Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice
> To poison all with heresy and vice.
> If men be left and otherwise combine,
> My epitaph 's, I dy'd no libertine."

It was said that Dudley carried prudence in money matters to an extreme bordering on "close-fistedness," and that a too great eagerness for pecuniary gain was an obvious trait in his character. If so, it explains what Gov. Belcher is said to have written of him: —

"Here lies Thomas Dudley, that trusty old stud,
A bargain's a bargain, and must be made good."

Sterner, more exclusive, and less conciliatory in his manner than his contemporary, Winthrop, he doubtless suffered by the comparison. Such was his independence that he "withstood magistrates and ministers when he thought them worthy of reproof," and would yield to no popular opinion to gain honor and authority. A dispute he had about a mortgage of land with Edward Howe, of Watertown, "an occasion of grief to godly minds and of reproach to the Court," led to the wholesome law for recording all deeds of conveyance.

It is amusing to read the account of the quarrel between two such patriarchs as Winthrop and Dudley. Winthrop is himself the relator. He had accused Dudley of extortion and usury, because he had sold seven and a half bushels of corn to receive ten for them after harvest. Dudley replied that he had done nothing illegal, and among other "hot words about it," told the governor that if he had thought that he had sent for him to his house to give him such usage, he would not have come there. He, in turn, complained that Winthrop had exercised too much authority, and demanded of him how he had derived such power, whether from the patent or otherwise. The governor smartly replied that he had not exceeded his authority, and "speaking somewhat apprehensively," as he himself says, the deputy began to be in a passion, and told the governor that if he "were so round he would be round too." Then the governor "bade him be round if he would." So the deputy rose up in great fury and passion, and the governor grew very hot also, so as they both fell into bitterness, but by mediation of the mediators they were pacified.

The differences that had long subsisted between them terminated, as it was most fit they should, at Concord. Winthrop's Journal, under date of April 24, 1638, presents us with this charming picture of mutual concession and fraternal love: —

"The governor and deputy went to Concord to view some land for farms, and going down the river about four miles they made choice of a place for one thousand acres for each of them. They offered each other the first choice, but because the deputy's was first granted and himself had store of land already, the governor yielded him the choice. So at the place where the deputy's land was to begin there were two great stones, which they called the 'Two Brothers,' in remembrance that they were brothers by their children's marriage, and did so brotherly agree, and for that a little creek near those stones was to part their lands."

His daughter, Anne Dudley, who married Gov. Bradstreet, became quite celebrated as a poet. A volume from her pen, printed in 1650, is the first book of poetry published in America. Among her descendants, inheritors of her poetic genius, two names occur well known to American literature, — Oliver Wendell Holmes and Richard H. Dana. In her elegy on her father are these lines: —

"One of the founders, him New England know,
Who staid thy feeble sides when thou wast low,
Who spent his state, his strength, and years with care
That after comers in them might have share;
True patriot of this little commonweal,
Who is 't can tax thee aught but for thy zeal?
Truth's friend thou wert, to error still a foe,
Which caused apostates to malign thee so.
Let malice bite and envy gnaw its fill,
He was my father, and I 'll praise him still."

This epitaph is also from her pen: —

"Within this tomb a patriot lies,
That was both pious, just, and wise.
To truth a shield, to right a wall,
To sectaries a whip and maul;
A magazine of history,
A prizer of good company,
In manners pleasant and severe,
The good him loved, the bad did fear;
And when his time with years was spent,
If some rejoiced, more did lament."

Joseph, son of Gov. Thomas Dudley, was born in Roxbury, July 23, 1647, after his father had attained the age of seventy. He was educated for the ministry, but soon turned his thoughts to civil affairs, early devoting himself to public business with distinguished ability and diligence. Possessing talents of a high order, he held many public offices. He was present at the battle with the Narragansetts in December, 1675, and as one of the commissioners, dictated the terms of a treaty with that once-powerful tribe. He was a member of the General Court from 1673 to 1675; one of the commissioners for the United Colonies from 1677 to 1681; an assistant from 1676 to 1685; president of New England, by a commission from James II, dated 27th September, 1685, until December, 1686; president of the council and chief justice of the Supreme Court in 1687–89; chief justice of New York in 1691–92; deputy governor of the Isle of Wight, England, from 1694 to 1702; member of the British Parliament for Newton, England, in 1701; and finally closed his long official career as governor of Massachusetts from 1702 to 1715.

Dudley then retired to his rural home in Roxbury, where he died on April 2, 1720. "He was buried," says the "Boston News Letter," "on the eighth, in the sepulchre of his fathers, with all the honors and respect his country was capable of doing him. He was a man of rare endowments and shining accomplishments, a singular honor to his country. He was early its darling, always its ornament, and in age its crown. The scholar, the divine, the philosopher, and the lawyer all met in him." Two regiments of infantry and two companies of cavalry took part in his funeral, minute-guns were fired from the Castle, and all the bells in Boston were tolled. This excessive eulogy and these public funeral honors, taken in connection with the intense hatred his earlier political conduct had excited, mark him out as an extraordinary man, and such, indeed, he was.

JOSEPH DUDLEY.

When the final effort was made, in 1682, to save the charter of the colony, Joseph Dudley and John Richards were sent to England as its agents. "Necessity and not duty," wrote Randolph, the English commissioner, "hath obliged this government to send over two agents. They are like to the two consuls of Rome, Cæsar and Bibulus. Major Dudley, if he finds things resolutely managed, will cringe and bow to anything." The agents found on arrival, that his Majesty was "greatly provoked" at the long delay of the colony in sending them, and as they were instructed not to give up the charter, could effect nothing. Dudley, whose advice for its surrender had cost him his popularity at home, remained, became a prominent candidate for the chief magistracy, and returned with the coveted commission, which he retained until superseded by Andros, in December, 1686. As president of the council in the oppressive government then set up, and all the more as a native citizen upon whom they had heaped their honors, he incurred the extreme resentment of the people, and on its overthrow in April, 1689, Dudley, who as chief justice was upon the circuit of Narragansett, was seized at Providence, brought to Boston, thrust into jail, and treated with great severity.

In his letters and petitions to the council for enlargement, Dudley makes no attempt to excuse his political conduct, but artfully appeals to their sympathies, urging his "unsteady health," and the "ruine" to his affairs, having a great family to support, desires their Christian consideration of these things, and professes to have no other interest nor desire but such as should promote "the security of religion and liberty in the English nation." Those familiar with Dudley's character, — and the men he addressed knew it well, — must have received the latter assurance with no little incredulity. They, however, were willing to mitigate the hardships of which he complained, but the people would not consent, and, as we shall see, promptly and effectually reversed their action.

Dudley's case was taken into consideration by the General Court, which resolved, on June 28th, "that Mr. Jo. Dudley is not baylable," but a little later arrived at this more lenient conclusion: —

"Upon the several motions of Mr. Joseph Dudley, and in consideration of his great indisposition of body. It's ordered that he shall be forthwith removed from the prison and confined to his owu house at Roxbury till further order, not to go out of his said house or precincts of his yard or backside adjoining, at any time except to the publique worship of God on the Sabbath and lecture days, and that under a sufficient gard to conduct him from his own house to y^e^ said meeting and back again, which gard is to be ordered and appointed by the captain of the Foot company in Roxbury. And he the said Mr. Dudley to give bond to the value of 10,000 pounds with sufficient sureties, to be and remain a true prisoner according to the contents and true meaning of this order, until he shall be released by order of law, or otherwise disposed of by direction from the government of the Mass. colony."

Having given the required bond, his prison doors were opened and he hastened home, happy to exchange its gloomy walls for those of his comfortable mansion in Roxbury. His enjoyment, however, was of very brief duration, for, —

"About twelve o'clock at night, being Saturday night, about two hundred or three hundred of the rabble, Dearing and Soule 'heading of them,' went and broke open his house and brought him to town. The keeper of the jail would not receive him, and they took him to Mr. Paige's (whose wife was a sister of Dudley's). Monday night, the 15th, they broke into Mr. Paige's house, smashing his windows in the search for Dudley, who promised to go to prison again, and remain until the fury of the people should be allayed. The 16th inst. Mr. Dudley walked to the prison, accompanied with several gentlemen, there being no stilling the people otherwise."

A letter of October 4 shows Dudley still dissatisfied with prison life and fearful for his health. He writes: —

"I have suffered neer six months' imprisonment to y^e^ very great hurt of my health and occasions necessary for y^e^ support of a great

family. Above twelve weeks since, at y^e^ direction of Mr. Addington, and as he acquainted mee by order of yourselves, I gave a very extraordinary and unusual bond to obtain but the sight of my family and the benefit of so much air as was necessary to save me from perishing, which lasted me but three or four hours, when I received a very urgent letter from Mr. Bradstreet for my return to y^e^ prison to save y^e^ rage of y^e^ people at that instant. I have since been often told that a very few days should bring me that ease and rest which I desire, but the time is passed hitherto and now the winter is approaching, the inconveniences whereof I am unable to bear. I entreat you at large to consider and resolve what may be agreeable to reason and justice and not to see my destruction and ruine, but to shew me the kindness of a brother, as God knoweth I am. I have no interests nor hopes but what is in common with my country, whose present sufferings I take my share of, and hope that nobody professing religion can take pleasure in these strange methods of late used towards mee."

The boon he had so often prayed for was at last accorded, and on Jan. 7, 1690, after an imprisonment of nearly nine months, Dudley was permitted to go under guard to his family to settle his affairs, and on the 9th of February following, sailed with his fellow-prisoners for England. He was favorably received there, and the appointment of chief justice of New York was conferred upon him, but after holding it less than two years he was suspended from office on account of his continued residence in Roxbury. While occupying this position, the trial and condemnation of Jacob Leisler for proceedings similar to those by which the patriots of Massachusetts had rid themselves of Andros, occurred, increasing his unpopularity at home. Returning to England in 1693, he continued his efforts to obtain the government of Massachusetts, renewing them on the death of Sir William Phips, and again, this time with success, on the decease of Lord Bellomont in 1701. Dudley had been trying to reconcile his countrymen ever since the Revolution. His family interest was large. Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor, retained his friendship and secretly corresponded with him. By his superior sense

and polished manners he acquired the notice and esteem of many considerable persons at Court.

Sir Richard Steele, one of the famous coterie of wits of Queen Anne's reign, and the daily companion of Dudley during his last residence in London, acknowledged that "he owed an abundance of those fine thoughts and the manner of expressing them, which he has since presented to the world, to his happy acquaintance with Col. Dudley, and that he had one quality which he never knew any man possessed of but him, which was, that he could talk him down into tears when he had a mind to it by the command he had of fine thoughts and words adapted to move the affections." To the dissenters in England he recommended himself by a grave, serious deportment, recovering also the favor of many of the New England ministers, and even had the address to reconcile himself to Rev. Cotton Mather, from whom he obtained a letter favoring his cause, which he made known to the king, and which removed his objection to Dudley on the score of his being so obnoxious to the people. His income was moderate, yet with economy he made a decent appearance in England, and educated several of his children there.

One of the last of the official acts of William III was to commission Joseph Dudley governor of the colony of Massachusetts Bay. "It was a proud day for Joseph Dudley," says the historian Palfrey, "when, after ten years of uneasy absence from home, he landed from the 'Centurion' man-of-war, under a salute that shook the town, and went up King Street to the Province House to assume the government for Queen Anne." Though received with marks of respect, the prejudices against him were great, and for the first seven years he had no rest. So unpopular was he, even in his native town, that the people of Roxbury would not have Mr. John Barnard, afterwards so eminent as the minister of Marblehead, for their minister, because that excellent man had accepted some particular attentions from the governor. His

policy of gaining over his enemies (for he was sure of his friends) at length brought him ease and quiet, so that the last days of his administration were his best days.

Dudley paid an early visit to Rev. Cotton Mather. A letter-writer of the period tells us, "Mr. Dudley hath been with the young pope, who hath absolved him of whatever hath been amiss, so that now he is a very good man." At this interview, Mather advised him not to come under the influence of Byfield and Leverett. "The wretch," says Mather, in his diary, "went unto these men and told them that I had advised him to be in no ways advised by them, and influenced them into an implacable rage against me." Mather had set his heart upon the presidency of Harvard College. After the choice of Leverett to fill that office, a choice that Dudley had promoted, there was war to the knife between Dudley and the Mathers, father and son. Both wrote him angry letters, charging him with unrighteousness; with plotting against the liberties of the province; with the "guilt of innocent blood" in the cases of Leisler and Milburn; with "covetousness, the main channel of which has been the *reign of bribery* which you, sir, have set up in the land where it was hardly known till you brought it in fashion"; and with spending his Sunday afternoons with some persons "reputed very ungodly."

The governor replied in a calm and dignified manner, reproving them for the spirit and temper of their letters in which he was treated with an air of superiority and contempt, and for their great credulity in raking together whatever had been imputed to him "these many years the bruit of the town," either through prejudice or mistake, as a foundation for such grave charges. "Why," asks he, "have you been so long silent, and suffered sin to lie upon me year after year? It is vain to pretend Christian love and respect, or zeal for the honor of God, or public good, vain to pretend pressure of conscience just at this season. Every one can see through the pretence, and is able to account for the spring of these letters,

and how they would have been prevented without easing any grievances you complain of. Your wrath against me is cruel, and will not be justified." He well knew what was the root of their bitterness, and closes his letter by thus exposing it: "The college must be disposed against the opinion of all the ministers in New England except yourselves, or the governor torn in pieces. This is the view I have of your inclination."

Applying himself with great diligence to the public business, Gov. Dudley conducted the wars with the French and the eastern Indians, terminated in 1713 by the treaty of Utrecht, with good judgment; but the death of the queen in 1714, and the accession of a new sovereign who knew not Joseph, paved the way for his retirement, which took place in November, 1715.

No native of New England has ever experienced so many vicissitudes, and enjoyed so many public honors and offices, as Joseph Dudley. In private life he was amiable, affable, and polite, elegant in his manners, and courteous in his intercourse with all classes. Had he remained in this sphere he would have been justly esteemed. His person was large, and his countenance open, dignified, and intelligent. The "News Letter" of April 11, 1720, says, "He was a very comely person, of a noble aspect and a graceful mien, having the gravity of a judge and the goodness of a father. In a word, he was a finish't gentleman of a most polite address, and had uncommon elegancies and charms in his conversation." Ambition was his ruling passion, and in attaining his ends, means were a secondary consideration. His cringing to Randolph, when at heart he despised him, was a blot on his character, and his secret insinuations to the disadvantage of his country were a greater, both being for the sake of recommending himself to court favor. Grave and dignified on the bench, he managed the affairs of the province with success, and supported the dignity of a governor at the same time that he added largely to his patrimonial estate

by his excellence as an economist. He was the first native of New England to sit in the British Parliament. "Of all the statesmen," says President Quincy, "who have been instrumental in promoting the interests of Harvard College, Joseph Dudley was the most influential in giving to its constitution a permanent character." Besides his benefactions to the college, he gave £50 by will to the Roxbury school, for the support of a Latin master.

Paul, son of Gov. Joseph Dudley, was born at the old homestead in 1675, and after graduating at Harvard College, in 1690, went to London and studied law at the Temple. When in 1702 his father was made governor, he accompanied him hither with the commission of attorney-general of the province. He was afterwards a member of the Legislature, and of the Executive Council, and Speaker of the House. In 1718 he became a justice of the Supreme Court, and from 1745 until his death, which took place on Jan. 25, 1751, was chief justice of Massachusetts. He was a thorough and accomplished lawyer, and on the bench displayed quick apprehension, uncommon strength of memory, and extensive knowledge. The manner of the celebrated jurist, Lord Mansfield, is said to have been like his. When he spoke it was with such authority and peculiar energy of expression as never failed to command attention and deeply impress the minds of all who heard him. "Thus," says Chief-Justice Sewall, his successor, "while with pure hands and an upright heart he administered justice in his circuit through the province, he gained the general esteem and veneration of the people."

Beginning his career with great zeal on the side of the Crown, and sustaining measures tending to abridge colonial privileges, he became unpopular, and shared with his father in the bitter animosity of the Mathers. His talents and independence in office gradually reinstated him in the favor of the people. To him may be traced many of the reforms which

obtained in the practice of the courts and the mode of administering justice. That he was at times inclined to be arbitrary is evident from a tradition, that having one day driven along as far as Increase Sumner's, on his way to Boston, he stopped and demanded of a laboring man who was passing, that he should go to his (the judge's) house and fetch a law-book he had left behind. The man seemed astonished at the demand, but asked, "Can one fetch it, sir?" "Oh, yes," said Dudley. "Then go yourself," was the reply.

Paul Dudley was one of the few Americans who have been honored by an election to the Royal Society of London, to whose "Transactions" he contributed materials for the natural history of New England. He was a benefactor of Harvard College, and in his will provided for the annual "Dudleian" lecture to be delivered before it. These lectures have of late been discontinued. One of the four subjects to be treated was, —

"The detecting and convicting and exposing the idolatry of the Romish Church, their tyrannous usurpations, damnable heresies, fatal errors, abominable superstitions, and other crying wickednesses in their high places, and finally that the Church of Rome is that mystical Babylon, that man of sin, that apostate church spoken of in the New Testament."

At a town meeting held in March, 1720, the selectmen of Roxbury were desired to return thanks to the Hon. Paul Dudley for building the upper stone bridge over Smelt Brook in the town street, and that henceforth it be called by the name of "Dudley's Bridge." The flood of time has swept this memorial into oblivion. Other and more durable monuments of his beneficence still remain in the old milestones yet extant in Roxbury, marked with the initials "P. D." Judge Paul, and Col. William Dudley, his brother, were, with Col. Fitch, the original proprietors of what is now the town of Dudley, Mass., then a tract of land lying between Oxford and Woodstock, on the Connecticut line, fifty-five miles west of Boston.

In 1703, soon after his return to his native country, he married Lucy, daughter of Col. John Wainwright, of Ipswich. A specimen of the epistolary courtship of that day is

PAUL DUDLEY.

preserved in a letter he addressed to Mrs. Davenport, the sister of his "divine mistress." As we peruse it in cold blood, it is easy to believe that the lady to whom it was ad-

dressed "smiled all along" as she read this ardent outpouring of his "most sincere, passionate, dutifull, and constant soul." Here it is: —

"DEAR MADAM. — It is Impossible but that you must take notice of that most affectionate Respect and Dutiful Passion I Bear to your most charming and amiable Sister, and you as easily Guess at my Design in it, which I Blush at the thought of. But the just Honour and Regard I have and ought to have to Col Wainwright and Hilady in this affair, forbids my pursuing it any further till I have mentioned it to them; for Which Reason it is that I am now going Hither (Tho' with a Trembling and heavy heart) and Carry with me a letter from the Governour to your Father that he would please allow me to wait upon my Sweetest, fairest Dearest Lucy. But Unless My Dearest Dame will assist and make An Interest for me I Cant Hope for Success. I Confess I have no grounds To ask or Expect such a favor from you, unless it Be by reminding you of The many obligations you have already laid Me Under, and this is an argument that goes a great way with Noble and Generous minds, and I am sure if you did but know what I Undergoe Both Day and Night, You would Pity me at least. I must beg of You, therefore, If you have any Regard to my Health and happiness, I might say to my life, You would show your Compassion and friendship To me in this matter; and Hereby lay such an obligation upon me as shall not, cannot Ever Be forgotten.* I Beg a thousand Pardons of my Dame for this freedom; And Pray her not to Expose my folly to any one, tho' If She thinks it proper, or that it will Doe me any Service, She may Read (to the mark

LUCY DUDLEY.

above) to my Divine Mistress; I know you have smiled all along, and By this time are weary of my Scrawle. I'll have Done, therefore, when I have asked the favour of you to present, as on my knees, my most Sincere, passionate, Dutifull, and Constant Soul to My Charming Nymph, With whom I hope to find It upon My Return, of which I shall be most Impatient.

"Dear Madam, I once more beg pardon of You, and pray You to think me in Earnest in what I Write, for Every Word of it Comes from the Bottom of My Soul, and I Hope Before I have done to Convince My Dearest Lucy of the truth of it tho' as yet She Believes nothing that I say to her. Madam, I am, with all affection and Respect your most obliged tho' now Distressful Humble Servant,

"PAUL DUDLEY.

"You may show all of this letter if you think fit, Mrs. Davenport."

Mrs. Lucy Dudley died Oct. 24, 1756, aged seventy-two. In a funeral sermon preached by Rev. Amos Adams, this tribute is paid to her exalted character: "She, for abilities of mind, for wisdom, knowledge, prudence, discretion, a heavenly temper, pure morals, unaffected piety, shining graces, and an unsullied character, has been rarely equalled by any of her sex among us."

The last occupant of the Dudley mansion was Isaac Winslow, Esq., a gentleman highly esteemed for his benevolence and other virtues. He was third in descent from John, brother of Gov. Edward Winslow, graduated at Harvard College in 1727, then entered the counting-room of James Bowdoin, a principal merchant of Boston, and subsequently, with his brother Joshua, carried on an extensive and profitable business in that city. With the proceeds of consignments from Bristol, England, vessels were built in Boston and loaded with fish for Leghorn, or some other foreign port, return cargoes being taken for Bristol. They also became considerable shipowners, and had one ship constantly in the London trade. Joshua was one of the consignees of the famous tea destroyed in Boston Harbor in 1773. Isaac retired

from business in 1753, when he became a resident of Roxbury, occupying at first a house on the north side of Roxbury Street, nearly opposite the Universalist Church, and after the death of Madam Lucy Dudley, the widow of Judge Paul, in 1756, made Dudley house his home. In June, 1760, he received the thanks of the town for a gift of land near Meeting-House Hill.

Winslow seems at first to have taken part with his countrymen in their resistance to the mother country, for in 1772 he was made chairman of the Roxbury Committee of Correspondence. He was, however, too conservative to suit the temper of the times, and the committee's first report, says the old record, "made great uneasiness in the meeting, and numbers of the inhabitants withdrew." We next find him a "mandamus councillor," one of a body of advisers of the governor, formerly chosen by the province, but now appointed by Gage, the royal governor. Andrews's diary, under date of Aug. 29, 1774, says, "It is rumored this morning that a company or two has marched for Roxbury, as there is to be a town meeting this day." Next day he says, "They (the townspeople) met with no interruption in the business of their meeting, save that Isaac Winslow attended, and declared his entire willingness to resign his councillorship; made an apology for his acceptance of it, and said it was more owing to the persuasions of others than to his own inclination."

Says the "Boston Gazette" of Sept. 5, 1774: "We are able to assure the public, upon good authority, that Isaac Winslow, Esq., one of the lately appointed councillors, waited on Gov. Gage last Monday, when he made an absolute and full resignation of his place at the board, since which, he has not appeared in council, but given the strongest assurances that he never will act in that station."

Though a loyalist, his moderation and his character as a man made him far less obnoxious than his Tory townsmen, Auchmuty, Hallowell, Hutchinson, and Loring. His virtues,

however, could not save him, and immediately after the Lexington affair, he took refuge in Boston. The Committee of Safety voted on April 30, 1775, "That a permit be required for Mr. Isaac Winslow's effects to be carried into the town of Boston from Roxbury, to-morrow." Next day they order Col. Gerrish to deliver permits for such as desire to enter Boston with their effects, at the house of Mr. John Greaton, Roxbury. "All such, to be protected from any injury or insult whatever, in their removal." In March, 1776, with his family of ten persons, he accompanied the royal army to Halifax, and died in New York in the following year. His first wife, Lucy, daughter of Gen. Samuel Waldo, died in Roxbury in 1768, at the age of forty-three. A fine large oil painting, by Blackburn, representing the family in the garden of the Dudley house, is now in the possession of Mr. Samuel Winslow, a great-grandson of Isaac.

1820–1 is a marked year in the history of religious opinions in this town, for it is the date of the formation of two parishes in Roxbury, the Baptist and the Universalist, both at that time considered heretical, and both largely made up of seceders from the First Church, then the only religious organization east of Jamaica Plain. The first Universalist sermon ever heard in Roxbury was delivered in the First Church, with Dr. Porter's permission, by Elhanan Winchester, in 1798. Twenty years later, Rev. Hosea Ballou began a course of Sunday-evening lectures in Roxbury, assisted on alternate weeks by Rev. Paul Dean. These, as well as the business meetings of the parish, were held in the Town Hall until the completion of the church edifice.

The First Universalist Society in Roxbury was incorporated Feb. 24, 1820, on the petition of Samuel Parker, William Hannaford, W. J. Newman, Samuel S. Williams, and others. Purchasing its well-selected site for one thousand dollars, the present commodious building was completed in December, and on Jan. 4, 1821, Rev. Hosea Ballou preached the dedi-

cation sermon, since which time services have been regularly held within its walls. When the corner-stone was laid, the Rev. Dr. Porter participated in the services, and walked in the procession arm-in-arm with Father Ballou. At the installation of its first pastor, Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, on July 26, 1821, an original hymn, of considerable merit, was contributed by Mr. John Howe, of Roxbury. A church of twenty-two members having been gathered, it was publicly recognized on Jan. 4, 1822, and a sermon was preached on the occasion by Rev. Edward Turner. During Mr. Ryder's administration one hundred and thirty-six members were added, and the edifice was renovated and repaired. The high pulpit was taken down, and the old square pews made way for the more graceful circular seats of to-day.

UNIVERSALIST CHURCH.

In March, 1866, the chapel, erected in 1841, was greatly enlarged and improved.

Intemperance was very prevalent in this section sixty years ago. "Roxbury Neck" was then, and for some time after, a general rendezvous for marketing. A portion of what is called the "Point" was especially riotous and drunken. Dr. Ballou found in a layman of the town, Edwin Lemist, a faithful co-worker in the warfare against intemperance and disorder, and succeeded in impressing his views and feelings so thoroughly upon the entire parish that its work, both for tem-

perance and religion, has ever since been well and faithfully done.

Rev. Mr. Patterson, in his historical discourse, from which many of these facts have been gathered, refers thus to the "manly man" who for many years collected and disbursed the revenues of the society. Says Mr. Patterson: —

"If ever there was a faithful official, Joseph W. Dudley was that official. It was one of the fundamental doctrines of his religion that the minister is a man needing food and raiment and shelter just like other men; that the laborer is worthy of his hire, and that a failure to receive it at the appointed and expected time may embarrass him, just as it would any other man. When we thanked him for a payment, as it was our pleasure to do, he would respond, 'No thanks; it 's yours; you 've earned it'; often adding, 'I wish it was more,' and sometimes saying, with a bright twinkle in his eye, that when he 'hired a man and paid him promptly, he expected him to stay at home and do his own work, and not be running off and sending some bungler in his place.'"

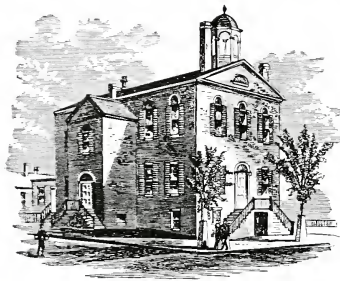
PASTORS OF THE FIRST UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| HOSEA BALLOU, 2d, D. D., | 26 July, 1821, | 28 April, 1838. |
| ASHER MOORE, | January, 1839, | 1840. |
| CYRUS H. FAY, | January, 1841. | 26 March, 1849. |
| WM. H. RYDER, D. D., | November, 1849, | January, 1859. |
| J. G. BARTHOLOMEW, D. D., | 19 July 1860. | 1 Jan., 1866. |
| ADONIRAM J. PATTERSON, D. D. | September, 1866. | |

Col. Joseph Dudley, in 1810, gave a portion of his patrimonial estate as a site for a Town House. A two-story brick building was erected, and was so far completed in February, 1811, that a town meeting was then held there. The use of the upper story was granted by the town in 1818 to the Norfolk Guards, for an armory. A grammar school was subsequently kept there, and in 1826 its basement was leased to Nathaniel Dorr for a market. After 1846 it was known as the City Hall. Latterly it was used as a Court House, having cells for prisoners in its basement. Since its demolition, in 1873, to make room for the Dudley School building, the

huge pineapple that formerly surmounted the edifice has adorned a paint shop on Bartlett Street.

An entry in the town records in 1683 of money paid John Ruggles for "mending the Town Hous," implies that at that time such an edifice existed, though all knowledge of its location has long been forgotten. Town meetings were in



TOWN HOUSE.

the olden time usually held in the old meeting-house, parish and town affairs being transacted at the same time and place, no distinction being made between them. In the earliest days, "Brother John Johnson's house" was occasionally the place of meeting. While the First Church was rebuilding in 1803–4, meetings were held in the brick building since known as Ionic Hall; and from March, 1805, until the completion of the Town Hall, the room over Nathaniel Ruggle's store, on Centre Street, served the purpose. The town meeting and the pulpit were in those days almost the sole agencies in the formation of public opinion.

By the fire in Capt. John Johnson's house in April, 1645,

all the records of the town were destroyed. The earliest existing volume begins with a memorandum respecting the garrison at the Castle, dated 1647. Then follows a note of the five men chosen to "order town affairs," the appointment of a committee to repair the church, and references to the fining of such as have no ladders to gain access to their house-tops in case of fire; these are all previous to 1652, since when the records have been regularly kept. The Record of Houses and Lands contains this memorandum: —

"We whose names are underwritten being chosen by the towne upon the 29th of Jan. fifty four to examine the transcript which Edward Denison was to write out according to the coppies delivered to him, having examined the said transcript upon the 14th of Feb. fifty four, we find that he hath performed exactly according to the coppies committed to his charge what he was entrusted with to write for the towne so far as we are able to discerne. Witness our hands

"JOHN JOHNSON
WILLIAM PARKE
GRIFFIN CRAFT
EDWARD RIG"

There is also an early volume containing the record of births, marriages, and deaths. The other original sources of information concerning the town are the records of the churches, more especially those of the First Parish and those of the old grammar school, and the colonial records.

The institution of towns with their government of selectmen had its origin in Massachusetts. They were established by the act of the General Court, granting a tract of land to a company of persons understood to be capable of supporting a minister. This land was held by them at first as proprietors in common. Each town had quite early a board of selectmen, a clerk, a treasurer, one or more surveyors of highways, a constable, and one or more tithing-men. They transacted the joint business, — to build the meeting-house, to choose and support the minister, admit new associates, distribute

the lands among individuals, make the roads, preserve order, make by-laws, to assess and collect taxes for town expenses, to apprentice the children of pauper parents, and to regulate a variety of miscellaneous affairs. The constable's duties appear to have embraced those of treasurer, town crier, keeper of the peace, and sheriff.

In 1649 the town voted that "Y^e^ five men shall have for y^e^ present yeere full power to make and execute such orders as they in their apprehension shall think to be conducing to the good of the town." They were also empowered "to order and dispose of all single persons and inmates within the town who lived an idle and dissolute life to service or otherwise," — an admirable regulation, and one the re-enactment of which would be most salutary. These "selectmen" were for a long time the only town officers. In 1665 five pounds a year was allowed them towards their loss of time and expenses. Refusal or neglect to accept a town office was punished by a fine of forty shillings. By the colonial law of 1631, none but church members could become freemen or voters. — a state of things that ceased with the abrogation of the old charter by Charles II. Subsequently, a single rate or tax on £20, besides poll tax, was required. In voting, each kernel of corn counted in the affirmative and each bean in the negative. Notices of town meetings and official proclamations were affixed to the meeting-house door as the most public place. Ballot stuffing or other "little irregularities" having crept in, the town in November, 1670, —

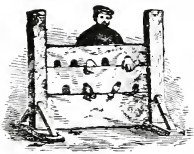
"Voated, that for the better regulating and maintaining order in our yearly elections for time to come, that none but the selectmen in being and the constables shall take in voates for election of town officers and they may examine the persons that bring in voats for others, and if they see Ne(e)d they may look over every mans pertikuler voats that so no decaite may be used for corrupting our elections, and these only to be the men to looke over the voats from yeare to yeare."

The instructions to the town watch, which was set at nine P. M. and dismissed at five A. M., have a little of the Dogberrian flavor: —

"If after ten o'clock they see lights, to inquire if there be warrantable cause; and if they hear any noise or disorder, wisely to demand the reason; if they are dancing and singing vainly, to admonish them to cease; if they do not discontinue after moderate admonition, then the constable to take their names and acquaint the authorities therewith.

"If they find young men and maidens not of known fidelity walking after ten o'clock modestly to demand the cause, and if they appear ill-minded to watch them narrowly, command them to go to their lodgings, and if they refuse, then to secure them till morning."

All towns were required by law to be provided with stocks and a whipping-post. The stocks were a wooden frame of small timber that could be opened or shut, wherein persons disorderly on Sabbath or town meetings were confined during meeting as a punishment for misbehavior. This, as well as the "cage," or place of detention for persons arrested, was near the meeting-house. In 1692 the watch-house was in the town street, and it was voted in town meeting that one should be built on Meeting-House Hill.



STOCKS.

A constantly recurring subject and a prolific source of contention at town meetings was the running at large of cattle, swine, etc. A vote against turkeys going at large was passed in 1656, though not without an earnest protest being recorded, it being ordered "that they shall be counted trespassers in corne, as liable to pay damages as well as other cattle." Warnings by the constable to temporary visitors to depart the town are very frequent. According to the old English system brought over by our ancestors, of mutual

security or frankpledge, dating back of the Norman Conquest, no stranger might abide in any place save a borough, and only there for a single night, unless sureties were given for his good behavior. thus preventing tramps from becoming a burden to the town. To prevent forestalling, the town in 1723 voted that "no person nor slave shall buy up any provisions going to Boston market, except for their own use. under penalty." In 1734 the town voted to fine any person who runs or gallops a horse in a calash, chaise, chair, cart, or sled in the town, or from Boston Line to Mr. Jarvis's (the Greyhound Tavern), or in the road to the lower county bridge by the mills, or round the Square and by Mr. Samuel Williams's. A century ago the usual pleasure drive was "round the Square"; that is, through Roxbury Street, round the meeting-house, through the lane now Bartlett Street, and through Dudley and Eustis Streets to the Neck. The lower part of Warren Street was not then opened. In 1768 the town voted "not to do anything to prevent people playing football in Roxbury Street."

In 1666 the town for the first time chose a "clarke," who was to keep the town records, and have everything exactly transcribed, "unlesse such things as either are ridiklus or inconvenient." Since the days of Edward Denison, the first town clerk, several eminent citizens have from time to time filled this post, prominent among whom for fidelity and length of service were Deacon Samuel Gridley, Dr. N. S. Prentiss, and Joseph W. Tucker, Esq. Among the able and faithful town treasurers we find the names of Col. Joseph Williams, Noah Perrin, and Joseph W. Dudley.

On the 1st of March, 1826, Brooks Bowman commenced running an hourly stage-coach from the Town House to the Old South Church, Boston; fare each way twelve and a half cents. Prior to this a two-horse stage-coach, leaving once in two hours and carrying forty-five passengers per day both ways, was the only public conveyance between the two

places. A post-horn was blown to notify passengers to be in readiness. The "Governor Brooks," of Bowman's line, built at Troy, N. Y., was the first omnibus seen in Boston. It was liberally patronized, and the "Northender" was soon added to the line. With the growth of the town the hourlies gave place to the half-hourlies, and in 1856 these were in turn supplanted by horse railroads.

The gun-house of the artillery company was located on land belonging to the First Parish, in the rear of the present Dudley School and fronting Roxbury Street, on what is now Putnam Place. The first, coeval with the organization, gave place to a new structure in 1836. All the meetings of the company were held here until its transformation to an infantry company in 1857.

The elevation beyond the Dudley estate has from time immemorial been known as "Meeting-House Hill." It was also called "Roxbury Hill," and just before the Revolution, from the fact of Isaac Winslow and other friends of the British government residing on or near it, it received the name of "Tory Hill." Putnam Street, its eastern limit, was given to the town by the First Church. Its western slope touched Stony River. Eliot Square was of course included, and this part of the hill, anciently called "Roxbury Common," was the public square in which upon great occasions the people assembled. After the training-field was disposed of in 1762, this spot was for years devoted to militia trainings, musters, etc.

Cotton Mather relates of John Eliot, who continued to preach while his strength lasted, that, going up this hill to his church in his old age, with much feebleness and weariness, he said to the one who led him, "This is very like the way to heaven, 't is up hill; the Lord, by his grace, fetch us up." Spying a bush near him, he instantly added, "And truly there are thorns and briers in the way, too." "Here," says Mather, "is something for the good people of Roxbury to think upon when they are going up to the house of the Lord."

No doubt many of them have spontaneously made similar reflections while toiling up under a July sun, notwithstanding their pathway has been smoothed by the blasting and removal of rocks, and the clearing away of thorns and briers. As for gliding smoothly up the acclivity in a horse-car, the good Eliot would as soon have expected to be translated to heaven on the tail of a comet. Bears were uncommonly numerous in the winter of 1725. In one week in September, no less than twenty were killed within two miles of Boston. Paul Dudley's interleaved almanac, under date of June 7, 1740, says, "A good fat bear was killed on our meeting-house hill, or near it."

On the 14th of August, 1773, a scene of unusual interest was here presented. A large number of invitations, printed on the backs of playing-cards, had been sent to prominent citizens of Boston and vicinity. A copy of one of these, now in the possession of Mr. Jeremiah Colburn, is here given: —

> *No* 384
>
> *THIS TICKET admits the BEARER to the FESTIVITY of the Sons of LIBERTY to be celebrated on Roxbury Common on SATURDAY the Fourteenth Instant.*
>
> *N. B. Dinner precisely Ten Minutes before One; and the Company to break up exactly at Five O'Clock.*
>
> *August* 10, 1773. (6s.)

A contemporary chronicler says: —

"On Saturday last, being the anniversary of the memorable 14th of August, 1765, when the primitive, free, and independent spirit of uncorrupted British subjects in America made a second successful effort against tyranny and oppression, the sons of Liberty, with their fathers and friends from this and the neighboring towns, convened on Roxbury common to the number of four hundred. There was a superb tent erected, sufficiently capacious to contain the numerous guests. Early in the morning a number of the friends of Liberty

assembled under a spacious elm (near Stony River), which they ornamented by hoisting a large union flag thereon, and named said Elm. LIBERTY TREE, by fixing an inscription on the trunk.

"Unfortunately the forenoon was wet, which prevented a considerable number of gentlemen who had engaged their company from sharing in the festivity of the day. But at the hour of dinner it ceased to rain, and two ranges of tables were filled. During the entertainment a select band of music patrolled the tent and gladdened the hearts of the patriots with the celebrated song of the farmer. The banquet was worthy the occasion.

"Mirth and decency shook hands during the whole festival; smiling joy animated every countenance; a determined resolution to oppose to death every attempt to rob or enslave them, gave a superlative dignity to the whole. Patriotic toasts were drunk, enlivened by a *feu de joie* from the cannon, and the soft sympathy of collected music.

"At six o'clock the company retired, having by their deportment through the day established this sacred character, that the enemies to usurpation and oppression are the great examples of order and decency."

Upon this hill were encamped the patriot forces assembled on the Lexington alarm, and here was the main post of the right wing of the army during the siege of Boston. Its first commander was Gen. John Thomas, whose headquarters were in the parsonage house opposite. When in July, Gen. Ward took command of the right wing at Roxbury, Thomas commanded a brigade under him, and continued so to do while the siege lasted. This excellent officer, a native of Marshfield, Mass., was born in 1725. He attained distinction as a medical practitioner, was surgeon of a regiment sent to Annapolis Royal in 1746, became colonel of a provincial regiment in 1759, and served under Amherst in the following campaigns, ending in the conquest of Canada. Made a provincial brigadier, Feb. 9, 1775, he was appointed to the same rank by Congress, June 22, and to that of major-general, March 6, 1776. On the evening of March 4, 1776, he, with three thousand men, occupied and fortified Dorchester

Heights, throwing up in a single night such formidable works as to compel the evacuation of Boston by the enemy, and terminating the siege. Intrusted soon afterward with the command in Canada, he joined the army before Quebec on May 1, 1776, but an attack of small-pox, then fearfully prevalent and fatal in his army, carried him off, near Chamblee, on the river Sorel, on the 3d of June.

The siege of Boston, the most important event in her annals, opened here with the march of Lord Percy to Lexington on the memorable 19th of April, 1775, and virtually closed with that of Gen. Thomas, from this point to Dorchester Heights, on the night of March 4, 1776. It lasted nearly eleven months, during which, Roxbury, barring the exit of the enemy from the beleaguered town by land, bore the brunt of the conflict, and suffered severely from the enemy's cannon, and also from the devastation caused by military occupation.

It was estimated that on the 20th of April, at least ten thousand men had assembled in arms around Boston. The militia regiments of Prescott, Warner, Learned, and Heath were already on the ground. Major-Gen. Artemas Ward, senior Massachusetts officer, took the chief command at Cambridge, and held it until the arrival of Washington on July 2. Aided by Generals Thomas, Heath, and Putnam, he strove to bring order out of confusion, and all had their hands full. After a few days' continuance before Boston, many of the minute-men, who had left home so hastily as to be wholly unprovided for a campaign, and who had in many cases left their families equally uncared for, returned home, leaving the land entrance to Boston almost unguarded. Col. Lemuel Robinson, of Dorchester, with only six or seven hundred men, held this important pass for several days. "For nine days and nights," says Gordon the historian, "the colonel never shifted his clothes nor lay down to sleep, as he had the whole duty upon him, even down to the adjutant, as there was no officer of the day to assist. The offi-

cers in general had left the camp in order to raise the required number of men. The colonel was obliged, therefore, for the time mentioned, to patrol the guards every night, which gave him a round of nine miles to traverse."

Says the diary of a British officer in Boston, under date of May 9, "At Roxbury there must be between two and three thousand men. Upon the hill where the church is they have four guns; they have plenty of others, but I don't find they have any batteries"

Such was the weakness of the besiegers at the very key to their position that on the 4th of May, two weeks after the siege had begun, the Committee of Safety wrote to the governments of Connecticut and Rhode Island a pressing request for three or four thousand men "to secure a pass of the greatest importance to the common interest," and on the 9th, strong fears being entertained of a sally from Boston, a council of war requested of the committee a force of two thousand men to reinforce the troops at Roxbury. The committee at once ordered the commanding officer of the ten nearest towns to muster "immediately one half of the militia and all the minute-men and march forthwith to Roxbury, so that the British troops might not come and possess themselves of that post." Before it was properly strengthened General Gage entertained such a design. Gen. Thomas gained information of what was intended on the day it was to be executed.

"His whole force," says Gordon, "consisted of only seven hundred men. The post included a large, broad, high hill. A road led to the top of it, visible in some parts to persons at the entrance into Boston. It passes over the hill and descends into a hollow, from whence you can turn off, and passing circuitously enter again upon the said road. [This is the hill upon which Mr. N. J. Bradlee's residence and observatory now stand.] The general took advantage of this circuit and continued marching round and round the hill, by which he multiplied their appearance to any one who was reconnoitring them at Boston. The dress of the militia was

extremely various, and consisted of their common clothing, which prevented the discovery of a deception that might otherwise have been soon detected had they worn uniform and possessed regular ensigns. Breastworks were at once ordered to be erected at different places to prevent the enemy's passing into the country from Boston Neck."

Let us glance for a moment at the American camp. Greene, on arriving at the Rhode Island camp, Jamaica Plain, two weeks before the Bunker's Hill battle, found it "in great commotion": the men "a factious set"; the officers unable to control them: several companies with clubbed muskets upon the point of starting for home; the commissaries beaten off; and "an excitement which in a few days more would have proved fatal to the campaign." Applying himself strenuously to the task of checking the confusion and in exercising and disciplining his brigade, his success was such, that on the 28th of June he was able to write, that "though raw, irregular, and undisciplined," his men were under much better government than any around Boston.

The Southern riflemen furnished a picturesque element to the camp. They were dressed in white hunting-shirts ornamented with a fringe, round hats, on which appeared the motto, "Liberty or Death," buckskin breeches, Indian moccasins and leggins, also ornamented with beads and brilliantly dyed porcupine quills, and were tall, stout, and hardy men, inured to frontier life. They were armed with rifles, tomahawks, and long knives, the latter worn in the wampum belt that confined the hunting-shirt to the waist. At a review, a company of them, at a quick advance, fired three balls into objects of seven inches diameter, at two hundred and fifty yards. With them it was a disgrace to shoot their game anywhere except in the head, and they inspired such terror in the British camp that they were there spoken of as "shirt-tail men, with their cursed twisted guns, the most fatal widow and orphan makers in the world." Daniel Morgan's com-

pany marched from Winchester, Va., to Cambridge, a distance of six hundred miles, in twenty-one days without losing a man by sickness or desertion on the route. Otho Holland Williams, afterwards Greene's able coadjutor at the South, was a lieutenant in one of these companies.

The greatest obstacle to the establishment of good discipline was found in the officers rather than the men. The social equality and familiarity that had subsisted at home between the men and their officers was continued in the camp. An illustration of this is furnished by a visitor to Roxbury, who overheard the following dialogue: "Bill," said a captain to one of his privates, "go and bring a pail of water for the mess." "I sha'n't," was the reply; "it's your turn now, captain, I got the last." A more illustrious instance was that of Col. Rufus Putnam, the chief engineer of the army in Roxbury. "What!" says a person meeting him one day with a piece of meat in his hand, "carrying home your rations yourself, colonel?" "Yes," says he, "and I do it to set the officers a good example."

Washington, upon his arrival at camp, on July 3, 1775, found himself at the head of a force of about fifteen thousand men, — "a rabble in arms" is the contemptuous phrase of a British officer, — lax in discipline, impatient under the necessary restraints of military life, without much organization, destitute of powder, and without uniformity in dress, weapons, or equipment. Officers and men were scarcely distinguishable by any outward insignia of rank. "Imagine such an army," says a writer, "without artillery or effective small arms, without magazines or discipline, and unable to execute the smallest tactical manœuvre should their lines be forced at any point, laying siege to a town containing ten thousand troops, the finest in the world. It was, moreover, without a flag, or a commander having absolute authority, until Washington came. Picture to yourself a grimy figure behind a rank of gabions, his head wrapped in an old bandana, a short pipe

between his teeth, stripped of his upper garments, his lower limbs encased in leather breeches, yarn stockings, and hob-nailed shoes, industriously plying mattock or spade, and your provincial soldier of '75 stands before you."

With all its deficiencies, there were some compensations in the American camp. A common feeling of patriotism gave it unity of action, and almost all were familiar with the use of fire-arms in hunting and fowling, and not a few had served in frontier campaigns against the French and Indians. The effect of Washington's arrival, and of the energetic measures he at once adopted to transform these improvised forces into an army, is thus graphically described by Chaplain Emerson: —

"There is great overturning in the camp as to order and regularity. New lords, new laws. The strictest government is taking place, and great distinction is made between officers and soldiers. Every one is made to know his place and keep in it, or he tied up and receive thirty or forty lashes, according to his crime. Thousands are at work every day from four till eleven o'clock in the morning. It is surprising how much work has been done. It is very diverting to walk among the camps. They are as different in their form as the owners are in their dress, and every tent is a portraiture of the temper and taste of the persons who encamp in it. Some are made of boards, and some of sail-cloth; some partly of one and partly of the other. Again, others are made of stone and turf, brick or brush, some are thrown up in a hurry, others cunningly wrought with doors and windows, done with wreaths and withes in the manner of a basket. Some are your proper tents and marquees, looking like the regular camp of the enemy. In these are the Rhode-Islanders, who are furnished with tent equipage and everything in the most exact English style. However, I think this great variety is rather a beauty than a blemish in the army."

Meeting-House Hill Common was the grand parade of the army. Here the guards for the advanced lines on the Neck, for the main guard in Roxbury Street, for Lamb's Dam, Mill Creek, and for the other forts and redoubts, and the fatigue parties employed on the fortifications, were formed every morning and inspected by Thomas, Spencer, or Greene. The

Rhode-Islanders were stationed at Jamaica Plain, the Connecticut brigade was on Parker's Hill, the Massachusetts men at the lines, on Meeting-House Hill, and in its vicinity. The vacated estates of the loyalists, Loring, Auchmuty, Hutchinson, Bernard, and Hallowell, were all in military occupation.

Of those who in the Roxbury camp were already known to fame, or were soon to achieve distinction, were Thomas, already mentioned; Heath, a native of the town, sturdy, honest, and patriotic, and well read in military science; Spencer, of Connecticut, a man past sixty, "a most respectable citizen, but, from inexperience, not qualified for councils of war"; Greene, of Rhode Island, who, after Washington, was perhaps the best officer in the patriot army; Knox, a native of Boston, young, ardent, and active, whose skill as an engineer, and whose enterprise and fertility of resource, signally displayed in his feat of transporting heavy cannon and stores in the dead of winter from Ticonderoga to the camp, contributed materially to the success of the siege; Morgan, afterwards the celebrated leader of the rifle corps, and the conqueror of the dreaded Col. Tarleton; Greaton, another native of Roxbury, whose faithful services were rewarded at the close of the war with the rank of brigadier-general, and who returned home only to lay his bones in the old burying-ground, literally worn out in the service; and Crane, the commander of the Massachusetts artillery throughout the entire contest.

The adjutant of Spencer's Connecticut regiment was John Trumbull, son of the patriotic governor of that State, afterward celebrated as a painter, and whose historical pictures adorn the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington. In his "Autobiography" he says: —

"The regiment reached the vicinity of Boston early in May, and was stationed at Roxbury. The parade and alarm post was a field on the hill between the meeting-house and the then road, in full view of the enemy's lines at the entrance of Boston. Our first occupation was to secure our own positions by constructing field works

for defence. The enemy occasionally fired upon our working parties, and in order to familiarize our raw soldiers to this exposure, a small reward was offered in general orders for every ball fired by the enemy which should be picked up and brought to headquarters. This soon produced the intended effect, — a fearless emulation among the men; but it produced also a very unfortunate result, for when the soldiers saw a ball roll sluggishly along, they would attempt to stop it, by which means several brave lads had their feet badly crushed, whereupon the order was withdrawn.

"From the upper windows of Thomas's headquarters, near the meeting-house, Charlestown was in full view, though at too great a distance for the naked eye to discern what was doing on the day of the Bunker's Hill battle. When the firing became frequent and heavy, the troops in Roxbury were ordered under arms and to their posts. Gen. Spencer's regiment was drawn up on their parade in full view of the enemy's lines, and it was not long before we attracted their attention and their fire. Several of their heavy shot passed over us, and we were soon ordered to fall back to the hill behind the meeting-house. It was my duty as an adjutant to bring up the rear and pick up stragglers. In crossing a stone fence, which the regiment in their retreat had nearly levelled, a soldier was on my right, not more than two feet distant, when I heard the rush of a heavy ball, and the poor fellow at my side fell, and cried out that he was killed. He was taken to the rear and soon died. There was no external wound, but the body over the region of the heart was black from extravasated blood. The regiment fell back to the summit of the hill, and we there passed the night on our arms. Charlestown, which lay full in our view, was one extended line of fire. The British were apparently apprehensive that their obstinate enemy might rally and renew the action, and therefore kept up during the night a frequent fire of shot and shells in the direction of Cambridge. The roar of artillery, the bursting of shells (whose track like that of a comet was marked on the dark sky by a long train of light from the burning fuse), and the blazing ruins of the town, formed altogether a sublime scene of military magnificence and ruin. That night was a fearful breaking-in for young soldiers, who there for the first time were seeking repose on the summit of a bare rock surrounded by such a scene."

"While the British were attacking Bunker's Hill," says Heath, "a furious cannonade and throwing of shells took place at the lines on the Neck against Roxbury, with intent to burn that town, but

although several shells fell among the houses and some carcasses near them, and balls went through some, no other damage was sustained than the loss of one man killed by a shot driving a stone from a wall against him."

The diaries of Gen. Heath, of Samuel Bixby of Col. Learned's regiment, of Samuel Hawes of Capt. Pond's Wrentham company, Ezekiel Price, and others, contain some incidents of interest respecting Roxbury's part in the siege They are placed in chronological order: —

"*May 5, 1775.* Col. Learned's regiment pitch their tents in Roxbury, near the meeting-house.

"*30.* Capt. Pond's company moved to Commo. Loring's house.

"*June 3.* A barge and four men belonging to a man of war, captured and taken to Cambridge, was this day brought to Roxbury in a cart. Its sails were up, and three sailors in it with their oars, rowing, made diversion for the country people. It was marched round the meeting-house, while the engineer fired the cannon for joy.

"*17.* Battle of Bunker's Hill.

"*18.* Sunday. Paraded at the burying-yard. Firing continued at Charlestown and Cambridge. The Rhode-Islanders laid out a piece of ground for an intrenchment, and went to work intrenching. Gen. Thomas ordered them to cease work, but they swore they would not, and he thought best to let them go on with it.

"*19.* Our men are ordered to another place to entrench.

"*21.* A fatigue party cut fascines for the fort.

"*22.* We are still intrenching here. We have thrown up a strong work across the street, and also one across the road to Dorchester.

"*23.* We are still building the fort.

"*24.* A house near our intrenchment was ordered to be taken down, as it might be set on fire by a bombshell, and render the intrenchment too hot for us. A party soon began the work, and the British opened fire upon them with shot and shell. Our soldiers would go and take up a burning bomb, and take out the fuse. Two Americans, attempting to set Brown's barn on fire, were killed. In the evening two heavy cannon were brought to the work on Workhouse Hill. Major Crane fired seven shots into the British works on the Neck, and drove the regulars from Brown's house precipitately. Two houses in Roxbury were set on fire by shells.

"*26.* A party of the British about daybreak advanced and fired on the American sentinels near the George Tavern. The picket guard turned out, and after sharp firing the British retreat.

"*27.* We are building defences on Dorchester Neck.

"*30.* Last night the Rhode-Islanders, under Lieut. Drury, went down to the guard with a field-piece and fired nine times at the regulars, who returned three shots.

"*July 1.* We are fortifying on all sides, and making it strong as possible round the fort on the hill by the workhouse. We have two 24-pound cannon, and forty balls to each. We have hauled apple-trees, with limbs trimmed and sharp, and pointing outward from the fort. We finished one platform, and placed the cannon on it just at night, and then fired two balls into Boston, that hit the barracks of the regulars. This night works are to be opened near Gates's bank, in Brookline.

"*2.* In the morning, a brisk cannonade from the British lines, and some shells thrown. A carcase set fire to the house of Mr. Stephen Williams, the tinman, near Roxbury burying-place, which was burnt down. By the activity of the troops, the flames were prevented from spreading, although they had to work in the face of a constant and heavy fire from the enemy. There is scarcely a house in the lower part of Roxbury that is not much injured by shot and bombs. Our people have lost only one man by them, which is very remarkable, as one hundred at least were fired into Roxbury during the week.

"*3.* Both of the new generals, Washington and Lee, came into Roxbury to-day. In the evening a regular, said to be a trumpeter in the Light Horse, with a flag, came from the intrenchments on Boston Neck, blowing his trumpet till he came to the American sentinels, whom he passed, and got through Roxbury Street as far as the foot of Roxbury Hill, where he was stopped, blindfolded, and then carried to headquarters. [He came out under pretence of Gen. Burgoyne's hearing that Gen. Lee had a letter for him.]

"*8.* Last night we planted two pieces of artillery within range of the enemy's outpost on the Neck. Brown's house burnt.

"*9.* The regulars, last night, made an advanced battery (a half-circle work) near Brown's, on the Neck, and moved a floating battery up in the Bay so as to cover the right flank of their works on the Neck. Sunday we cut down and trimmed the limbs of some apple-trees, sharp, and built a sort of breastwork across the road (Roxbury Street), with their points toward Boston, to stop the Light Horse should they come to attack us.

"*11.* This morning a party of our men burnt Brown's store, which escaped the flames last week. The regulars, upon the approach of our men, quitted their advanced work with precipitation. Part of a work this day traced out on Col. Williams's hill [where the Stand-Pipe is], and a strong abatis completing from the marsh land back of Capt. Davis's house across the road into Lamb's meadow.

"*12.* In the forenoon Col. Greaton with one hundred and twenty-six men went in whale-boats to Long Island, burnt the house on it, and the barns, with a large lot of hay intended for the British cavalry. One armed schooner and several barges put off after the Americans, and some of the ships of war near the island cannonaded them, but though they narrowly escaped being taken, Col. Greaton and his daring band gained the shore. One man of the detachment on shore that came to the assistance of Greaton was killed. Thirty odd whale-boats were this day brought from Dorchester on men's shoulders. The bell on the meeting-house tower taken down this day and carried away by the parish committee.

"*13.* Works in the meadow, near the George Tavern, go on briskly, although a heavy cannonade all the forenoon from the lines and the floating battery, and a number of shells thrown, but no damage done. Generals Washington and Lee visited the Roxbury camp.

"*14.* This day a fortress was begun on Col. Williams's hill, back of the works on the hill near the workhouse. We were amused with a heavy fire of cannon and mortars from the lines of the regulars on the Neck, and from one of their floating batteries, against two hundred of our men, who were throwing up a breastwork in front of the George Tavern and within a few rods of the regulars' advanced guard. Our people kept at their work, and never returned a shot. Three bombs burst near them without injuring a man. Most of the cannon-shot were taken up and brought to the general.

"*15.* Last night two hundred men were ordered to march quietly down to George's Tavern, and throw up a breastwork on the marsh

"*18.* In the evening a strong party took possession of an advanced post in Roxbury, and the next day there was an incessant cannonade kept up on the works. There was an appearance of a sortie by the British during this cannonade, but they disappointed Gen. Thomas, who made excellent dispositions to receive them.

"*31.* Our guard near George's Tavern were drove in. Tavern

and barn burnt, 'cannon roared like thunder' in all directions. Shells fly into Roxbury, but generally went over us.

"*Aug. 1.* The floating battery is brought up towards Brookline fort. Our men at Col. Read's fort (Mill Creek) fired on her till they drove her back to her old place. The same day they fired from Roxbury Hill fort, and it was said that they fired through their barrack. Bixby says, 'we fired the twenty-four pounder in the great fort above the meeting-house three times. One ball went into Boston, two struck their breastwork.'

"*2.* Our men were to begin an intrenchment this night near Lamb's Dam, and it was expected that the regulars would oppose them.

"*8.* Morgan's riflemen arrived.

"*13.* Being Sunday, we went to hear Mr. Willard, and after meeting, our men went to intrench down at the George Tavern, and about break of day they got home. Learned's men began to intrench 'down by Roxbury burying-yard, on each side of the street, one in the orchard at the right hand, and one at the left hand, down towards George's Tavern.' Being fired upon 'we mind it not.'

"*15.* The field-pieces placed near Lamb's Dam fired upon the intrenchments of the regulars on the Neck. They returned the fire, and wounded one man in the head slightly. Lieut.-Col. Putnam ordered to take down the fence that enclosed the George Tavern.

"*18.* Behold their spite! This morning before sunrise the enemy fired on our working party on the Neck, this side the George Tavern. Our riflemen fired at them, and it is thought killed two of them. Notwithstanding all their firing of balls and bombs, yet there was not one man wounded on our side.

"*19.* Ordered, that as the general has lately been informed that the enemy contemplates erecting a battery somewhere near Brown's house and the George Tavern, a picket consisting of two hundred men be raised for the night, and continue till further orders, to drive them back whenever they may attempt to raise such a battery.

"*22.* Col. D. Brewer ordered to remove his regiment to Warren's grounds.

"*24.* Three hundred men ordered to intrench at the lower end of Roxbury Street last night, and three hundred men stationed at Lamb's Dam to protect them.

"*27.* Ordered that the alarm-post for Col. Danielson's regiment be the new works to the left of where the main guard is posted.

"*29.* A company of riflemen arrive to-day.

"*31.* Six hundred men with canteens of water are ordered to parade in the orchard west of Blaney's store, to be employed as Col. Putnam may direct.

"*Sept. 2.* This morning we spied the enemy intrenching at Brown's chimneys and fired at them from the lower fort, and with a field-piece went down to the right hand of the burying-place, and had not been there long before we were ordered off, and the cannon began to play upon the enemy from Roxbury fort on the hill and the field-pieces from the breastwork in the thicket. The occasion of our men's firing on them was this: They had advanced about thirty or forty rods this side their breastwork on the Neck and were intrenching there. They fired at us, but did no damage. At night a platform was carried down to the thicket in order to mount a cannon there.

"*6.* Our fatigue parties are at work on both sides below George's Tavern and at Lamb's Dam. Our men went down below the tavern as a safeguard for the sentries. The works advanced beyond the George Tavern without any molestation.

"*7.* The commanding officer of the main guard is not to permit any person to carry any boards, spars, or rails to the right and left of the burying-ground, as in case of bombardment or cannonading from the enemy, the troops would be greatly exposed thereby.

"*8.* Our fatigue party building a fort on the hill above Lamb's Dam fired on by the enemy. They fling six or seven balls and two shells.

"*9.* At night our men carried several cannon down to the thicket to the breastwork there. The redoubt at Lamb's Dam nearly finished, and mounted with four eighteen-pounders.

"*12.* Major Crane is directed to post a detachment of the train in the fort near Lamb's Dam, to guard, superintend, and conduct the ordnance in those works. Our men intrenching at Lamb's Dam not above half a mile from the enemy's breastwork. All the cattle and horses in and about Roxbury common, and on the lands unimproved by the owners, to be removed from thence, and the cattle and sheep lately come from Rhode Island, for the use of the army, to be pastured there.

"*19.* As there are six large boats now lying before Col. Fellows's quarters which are exposed to great injury from the weather, the quartermaster-general is directed to order a sufficient number of teams to carry said boats from the above-named place to the Mill Creek, under the care of Col. Read. Enemy firing upon Roxbury

daily, fire returned. Capt. Poulett, of the 59th British Regiment, had his leg shot off as he was sitting at breakfast at the lines.

"*21.* Prisoners confined at the main guard having been exposed to the enemy's fire, in future to be immediately removed to the guard at the meeting-house.

"*23.* The enemy began to fire about nine o'clock. They fired above one hundred balls, but through the good hand of Divine Providence they did not kill one man. One or two men slightly wounded. Our men fired three cannon from our breastwork near Lamb's Dam. One of the balls went into Boston among the houses. 'Last Saturday,' says Henry Knox, 'let it be remembered to the honor and skill of the British troops, that they fired one hundred and eight cannon-shot at our works, at not a greater distance than half point blank shot, — and did what? Why, scratched a man's face with the splinters of a rail fence!'

"*Oct. 2.* The regiment commanded by Col. Greaton turned out and was reviewed, made a fine appearance and performed their exercise well. One of the new boats was launched, several others completed.

"*5.* Col. Read to take charge of the ordnance and ordnance stores at Read's battery until further orders. The creek guard to consist of thirty privates, which guard is to keep centries at Read's battery. This morning the enemy discharged nine cannon at our meeting-house where about two thousand men were collected, but 'hurted' not one man.

"*23.* Went to Roxbury with the general officers, and the committee from Congress [Dr. Franklin, Messrs. Lynch, Harrison, and others] to dine on turtle." — *Heath's Diary.*

"*Nov. 24.* Orders came last night from Washington to Gen. Thomas for every man to lie by his arms and with his clothes on, as an attack was expected from the enemy, who had given out word that they would take supper with us in Roxbury on Thanksgiving night.

"*25.* Main guard will in future parade in the street from Howe's bakehouse to the guard-house. The drums and fifes to beat down the street from the colonel's quarters as far as his right every morning at sunrise, and at one hour before sunset, to call the troops to prayers.

"*Dec. 6.* Main guard to parade from Howe's bakehouse to Dr. Davies's great house.

"*1776, Jan. 3.* Twenty men out of each regiment in Roxbury to cut fascines. 'I believe we have it by and by.'

"*March 1, 2, 3.* A number of mortars moved to Roxbury. Screwed hay brought from Chelsea, and great preparations making. Heavy cannonade. Col. David Mason, chief engineer at Lamb's Dam, injured by the bursting of a ten-inch mortar.

"*4.* At one o'clock I was at Roxbury; it seemed as if it had been raining men for some time. The general had ordered over two regiments from Cambridge, and had called out five regiments of minute-men, and as many more almost had come in volunteers, well armed and ready to take part in the conflict. To the honor of the militia in the neighborhood, it was said they behaved nobly on this occasion; for when those who had teams were called on for their assistance, not the least excuse was made, but one and all, with one voice, said, 'Yes, I am ready; I will go with my team,' and many more came than could be made use of. A little before sunset we marched off from Roxbury, but for more than half a mile before we came to Dorchester lines we overtook teams in great plenty, nor did we find any vacancy till we came to the lines. In some places they were so wedged in together we were obliged to leave the road to get forward. Reached the lines at seven o'clock, where we waited half an hour for orders, when a signal was given, and the cannonade began at Lamb's fort, and was immediately answered by a very warm fire from the enemy's lines. Our party, consisting of about two thousand four hundred men, with three hundred teams, were crossing the marsh on to the Neck, which, together with a fresh breeze at S. W., concealed us from the enemy until they could see our works by daylight. The division to which I was assigned, commanded by Col. Whitcomb, was ordered on to the northerly hill, where in one hour's time we had a fort enclosed with fascines placed in chandeliers, and we immediately employed as many men intrenching as could be advantageously used for that purpose. A larger party was assigned the high hill, where they erected a larger fort, built much in the same manner as ours. There were also four other smaller forts and batteries erected this night on other eminences on the Neck.

"*5.* Our party, under the immediate command of Gen. Thomas, were relieved by a detachment of three thousand men from Roxbury lines without the notice of the enemy. Our division marching off in the rear of the whole, crossed the marsh a little before sunrise, but yet we escaped the shot of the enemy and came to our quarters, sun about an hour high, weary and hungry. The excessive cannonade and bombardment of last night did no other damage than mortally

wounding Lieut. Mayo, of Learned's regiment. He lately belonged to Roxbury; his father, and friends now living in this town, were with him when he died.

"*6.* A little before noon we were alarmed by a signal at the meeting-house that the enemy were landing at Dorchester. The regiment turned out, and was kept in readiness throughout the day, but the alarm happened somehow through mistake.

"*16.* Nook's Hill fortified.

"*17.* Sunday. Alarmed while at breakfast by the drum's beating to arms, and the regiment immediately turned out. I went up to the north of Ruggles's fort, where I observed some very peculiar movements of the shipping. They continued falling down the harbor, many of them surrounded with great numbers of boats, till about noon, when I hear the selectmen of Boston came out to Roxbury and informed the general that the British troops had all embarked and left the town.

"*25.* Went up to our upper fort, from which I saw a part of the British fleet under sail.

"*1777, Aug. 14.* This day a sixth part of the militia in Roxbury were drafted to serve in the army until the last of November.

"*1778, Dec. 31.* This day a duel was fought in a pasture near Roxbury meeting-house between Mr. Robert Gates, son of Major-Gen. Gates, and Mr. John Carter. Mr. Gates discharged his pistol at Mr. Carter, but not hitting him. Mr. Carter told him he could take his life, but would not do it, and did not fire."

No more interesting spot can be found in Roxbury than Meeting-House Hill, upon which, in the summer of 1632, the first meeting-house was built. As it was one of the first cares of our pious ancestors to provide a place of worship in which to settle "an able orthodox minister," to have been destitute of one for the first two years of their settlement was, we may well imagine, no small privation. During this period they were assessed for the support of the Charlestown church, and joined themselves to that of Dorchester. Here the life of the old town centred, and for many years the church was the town, and the town the church. At first, in anticipation of Indian attacks, all persons were ordered to live within half a mile of the meeting-house, and the men, or a portion of them,

were required to attend public worship completely armed. Town meetings were held here; here for near a century all marriages, funerals, and baptisms were solemnized; and here the apostle Eliot preached for nearly sixty years. It is this ministry, inseparably connecting her with the beneficent missionary labors of the grand old apostle to the Indians, the fame of which extended throughout christendom, — this it is that constitutes the crowning glory of the Roxbury church. The present house, though by no means a beautiful structure, is conspicuous from its elevated site and venerable for its associations. The spacious, grassy slopes around it have Eliot Square upon the west, Roxbury Street upon the north, Dudley Street upon the south, and Putnam Street upon the east.

This is the fifth church edifice erected here, the second having been built in 1674, the third in 1741, the fourth in 1746, and the last in 1804, this having stood longer than either of its predecessors. The first was a rude and "unbeautified" structure with a thatched roof, destitute of shingles or plaster; without gallery, pew, or spire, and probably similar to that of Dedham in its dimensions, the latter being thirty-six feet long, twenty feet wide, and twelve feet high "in the stud." A meeting-house of the second architectural period, such as may yet be seen at Hingham, had a roof of pyramidal form covered with a belfry; accordingly the bell-rope hung down to the centre of the floor, and the sexton stood half-way between the principal door and the pulpit while summoning the worshippers together. The people sat on plain benches, the men and

EARLY CHURCH.

women on opposite sides of the house. In 1646 the first house was put in "safe repaire," and in 1656 the ends were clapboarded. It is lamentable to think how many must have owed their death to exposure during our rigorous New England winters in these unplastered, unwarmed, and comfortless structures. The record says: —

"Jan. 12, 1653. It was agreed that the meeting-howse be repayred for the warmth and comfort of the people; namely, that the howse is to be shingled and also two galleries built, with three seats in a gallery, one at the one end of the howse and the other at the other end. Also the howse to be plastered within side with plaster and haire; also for the seting out of the howse, — that some pinakle or other ornament be set upon each end of the howse; also the bell to be removed in some convenient place for the benefit of the town, and the charge to be borne by the several inhabitance by way of a rate. For which worke Lieut. John Remington is to have twenty-two pounds; more, if the worke deserveth more; lesse, if the worke deserveth lesse."

Nothing could have been more abhorrent to our early Puritans than a step in the direction of popery, yet we find on record the following: "Jan. 28, 1666. It was voated for making more 'Rome' in the meeting-house, that there should be another seate added to the men's gallery." The original house being constantly in need of repairs, on Dec. 10, 1672, it was, "after much debate with love and condescending one to another, concluded by voate to build a nue meeting-house as near the other as conveniently may be"; and on April 14, 1674, "the selectmen and the committee met at Sergt. Ruggles's, and there toke account of the number of hands that were hired to help 'rare' the nue meeting-house." To its construction the people of Brookline contributed £104 5*s*., and worshipped there until the erection of their own church in 1715, one fifth part of the church being allotted to them, they contributing in that proportion towards the parish expenses. The first meeting in the new house was on Nov. 15,

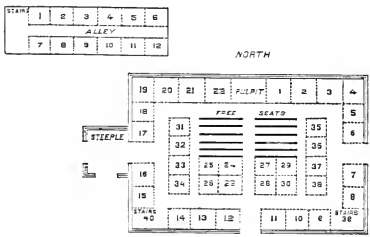
1674, only four days before the death of Rev. Mr. Danforth, Eliot's colleague. In 1693 permission was given to build pews around the meeting-house, "except where the boys do sit, upon the charge of those who desire the same, and this only to be granted to meet persons." In 1721 it was voted that the bell belonging to the meeting-house may be rung for the town every night, "provided any person appear to pay for the same and the selectmen approve of the ringer."

The third edifice, built in 1741, was destroyed by fire in March, 1744, and the use of foot-stoves, to which the conflagration was attributed, was, on that account, thereafter prohibited. "So as not to intrude on the pews in the west galleries," a corner in them was allotted to the negroes to sit in. Towards the building of the fourth house, completed in 1746, upon the same plan as its predecessor, aid was received from the neighboring churches, and meetings were meanwhile held in the brick schoolhouse. Judge Paul Dudley provided a handsome porch, and Col. Joseph Heath gave a clock. In 1763 the three seats to the right of the clock in the centre of the gallery were appropriated for "those who may be inclined to sit together for the purpose of singing."

The main entrance of this house, in front of which was a large, flat, circular stone, faced the south, and was in the centre of the building. The tower and belfry were as at present, the gallery entrance being also there. The pulpit was then on the northerly side. The pews were square, and the seats so made as to fold up when the people stood up at prayer, at the close of which they would come down with a clatter, — fun for the boys, who thus responded to the amen. Its high pews make one share the feelings of the little girl who, when taken to church for the first time, complained that she had been shut up in a closet, and made to sit upon a shelf. In front, the place of honor, were two body

pews, so called, assigned to strangers and the poor of the parish.

Joseph Heath's plan of the interior of the proposed meeting-house, and the names of the occupants of pews in 1736 are here given: —




PLAN OF PEWS.

1. The minister.
2. Paul Dudley.
3. Col. Lamb.
4. Ralph Holbrook.
5. Jona. Seaver.
6. Jos. Warren.
7. J. Williams, Sen.
8. Ebenez. Cheney.
9. Edw. Sumner.
10. Lieut. Sam'l Williams.
11. Capt. Sam'l Stevens.
12. Ens. John Holbrook.
13. Mr. Joseph Williams.
14. Eben Davis.
15. J. Ruggles.
16. Capt. John Richardson.
17. Jo. Ruggles.
18. Eben. Craft.
19. Mrs. Dorothy Williams.
20. Lt. Samuel Heath.
21. Eleazer Williams.
22. Col. Joseph Heath.
23. Noah Perrin.
24. N. Williams.
25. John Bowles.
26. Stephen Williams.
27. John Goddard.
28. Lt. Isaac Curtis.
29. John Williams.
30. Jonathan Williams.
31. —— Shed.
32. Ens. Ebenezer May.
33. Ebr. Pierpont.
34. Dea. Ed. Ruggles.
35. Caleb Stedman.
36. Ebenezer Dorr.
37. Ebenezer Warren.
38. Ebenezer Seaver.
39. James Mears.
40. Samuel Griggs.

GALLERY.

5. Mrs. Wm. Bosson.
6. Thomas Baker.
7. Jno. Woods.
8. Dea. Samuel Gridley.
9. Edward Dorr.
10. Mrs. —— Eaton.
11. Samuel Gore.

No meetings could be held here while the siege lasted, and the building was used as a signal station for the army, the parsonage close by being the headquarters of Gen. Thomas.

From the church belfry were shown the signals that transmitted to the country the joyful intelligence that the British troops were evacuating Boston, and that the long siege had been brought to a successful termination. The pews and the bell had been taken out by the parish committee, and the communion plate carried by Rev. Mr. Adams to Medfield. It is greatly to be regretted that this old communion plate could not have been kept as a sacred memento of the apostle Eliot and of the founders of the church. Having become much worn, it was sold in 1789, and a new piece purchased with the proceeds. A constant and conspicuous target for the British cannon, the church was pierced through in many places, one ball passing through the belfry. At the close of the siege, when the meetings were resumed, £200 were expended in necessary repairs.

The engraving of the old edifice and its surroundings (facing the title-page) is copied from an oil painting, by Penniman, the Roxbury artist, now the property of Mr. Horace Hunt, of Boston. It is taken from the residence of Deacon Moses Davis, on Washington Street, which constitutes the foreground, and exhibits the church and the hill with the houses at that time (1790) upon it. Of those now standing, the Mears house on the left, the Lambert house next the church, and the parsonage are the most prominent. The old grocery store on Eliot Square is also seen, and a good

idea can be formed of this part of the town at the beginning of this century.

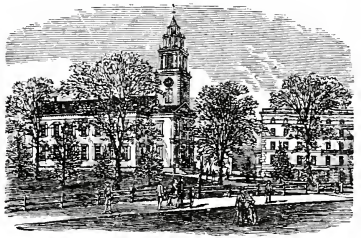
In 1802 the parish decided to erect a new building of wood upon the plan of the Newburyport meeting-house. During its construction, in the following year, services were held in a new unfinished brick building on Roxbury Street, owned by Capt. Stoddard, since known as Ionic Hall. The plan of rebuilding encountered opposition. Heath's manuscript journal, under date of April 18, 1803, says: "This day the meeting-house in the First Parish of this town was begun to be pulled down. It was not half worn out, and might have been repaired with a saving of $10,000 to the parish. It has been sold for $600. Whether every generation grows wiser or not, it is evident they grow more fashionable and extravagant." Our own generation has so far advanced in these directions that it can not only build more fashionably and extravagantly than its predecessors, but does so almost wholly upon borrowed capital. The present house was dedicated on June 7, and services were first held here on June 10, 1804. Underneath the west corner-stone of the building there was deposited with appropriate ceremonies a circular silver plate with the inscription: —

THIS
BUILDING DESIG-
NED FOR THE PUBLICK
WORSHIP OF GOD, WAS FOUN-
DED WITH HARMONY AND
LOVE BY THE FIRST PARISH
IN
ROXBURY, MAY 2D 1803.
LAUS DEO.

Ten years later, and soon after a discourse by Rev. Dr. Porter, from Acts xviii, 17, this identical plate, which had been surreptitiously removed from its place, was handed by Mr. Ebenezer Brewer to Capt Jonathan Dorr, one of the parish committee. Upon the back of the plate when returned

there was found written, "This Tallent which the slothful servant hid in the earth, mite have been sold for six shillings and seven pence, and given to the poor, — but Gallio cared for none of these things.'"

By vote of the parish in 1805, town meetings in the church were interdicted, and as a result a town house was built soon afterwards. In April, 1806, the new clock was set up in the tower by Mr. Simon Willard, its inventor and maker.



THE FIRST CHURCH.

The sale of pews in the new house left, after paying for the building, a surplus of $7,706.02. This sum, on the proposition of Gen. Heath in town meeting, was divided among the tax-payers of the parish, *pro rata*. In 1857 four of these pew-holders were yet living, and also twenty-five of the descendants of the original founders of 1632. In that year the edifice was repaired, its interior greatly improved, and the horse-sheds, so long an eyesore to the neighborhood, removed. A handsome chapel has recently been erected on the Putnam Street side.

This is one of the oldest as well as one of the largest and most influential religious societies in New England, being

fifth in the order of time, those of Salem (1629), Dorchester (1630), Boston, and Watertown (1632) having alone preceded it. It was gathered in July, 1632, George Alcock, William Parke, William Pynchon, John Johnson, Thomas Lamb, William Denison, Thomas Rawlings, Robert Cole, Samuel Wakeman, and William Chase being its principal founders. "Until such time as God should give them opportunity to be a church among themselves, the people of Rocksborough joyned to the church at Dorchester, and chose Alcock for their Deakon."

When the opportunity came, through the large accessions made to their number in the summer of 1632, Mr. Thomas Welde was ordained teacher, and John Eliot, pastor of the church and society. Welde's engagement is thus quaintly described: "After many imparlances and days of humiliation by those of Roxbury to seek the Lord for Mr. Welde his disposing, and the advice of those of Plymouth being taken, he resolved to sit down with them of Roxbury, the diligent people thereof early preventing their brethren of other churches by calling him to be their pastor."

Of the manner of Eliot's settlement here, in pursuance of his agreement with his Nazing friends, he tells us in his church record: —

"Mr. John Eliot came to N. E. in the 9 month 1631. He left his intended wife in England to come the next year. He adjoyned to the church at Boston, and there exercised in the absence of Mr. Wilson the Pastor who was gone back to England for his wife and family. The next summer Mr. Wilson returned and by y^t time the church at Boston was intended to call him to office, his friends were come over and settled at Roxborough to whom he was foreingaged y^t if he were not called to office before they came he was to joyne with them, whereupon the church at Roxborough called him to be teacher in the end of the summer, & soon after he was ordained to y^t office in the church. Also his wife came along with the rest of his friends the same time, & soon after their coming they were married."

From that day to this, uninterrupted harmony has prevailed, if we except the period of the so-called antinomian controversy in 1637. This struggle for intellectual freedom against the authority of the clergy was ably sustained by Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, backed by her brother, John Wheelwright, the young governor, Harry Vane, and by some among the scholars, magistrates, and members of the General Court. So great was the excitement occasioned by it that the pious John Wilson climbed into a tree to harangue the people, and it even interfered with the levy of troops for the Pequod war. The clerical party triumphed, Hutchinson and Wheelwright were exiled from the territory of Massachusetts as "unfit for the society" of its citizens, and their adherents were disarmed, for having signed a petition stigmatized as "a seditious libel," wherein they had affirmed Mrs. Wheelwright's innocence, and that the court had "condemned the truth of Christ."

Mrs. Hutchinson, who is described by her bigoted opponents as "a woman of a haughty and fierce carriage, of a nimble wit and active spirit, and a very voluble tongue," had submitted with impatience to the regulation debarring women from the privilege of joining in the debates at the private religious meetings of the brethren. She therefore set up a meeting of the sisters also, that was soon largely attended, and she was sustained and approved by the excellent John Cotton and Henry Vane. The jealousy of the clergy was soon excited against her, and at the first synod held in America, assembled in 1637 at Newtown, no less than eighty-two errors were enumerated and condemned, and she was, in the following November, sentenced by the court to banishment. To realize fully the magnitude of a schism that so nearly toppled over the framework of the Puritan church, it is only necessary to know that the "dangerous errors" taught by her and especially named were, first, "that the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person," and second,

"that no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification." While in the custody of Capt. Joseph Weld, at his house in Roxbury, as we learn from Winthrop, "divers of the elders and others resorted to her, and finding her to persist in maintaining those gross errors before mentioned and many others, to the number of thirty or thereabouts," she was called before the church at Boston, where, "though her errors were clearly confuted, yet she held her own so as the church agreed she should be admonished," and her excommunication was speedily pronounced.

"The church at Roxbury," says Winthrop, "dealt with divers of their members there who had their names to the petition, and spent many days in public meetings to have brought them to see the sin in that as also in the corrupt opinions which they held, but could not prevail with them. So they pronounced to two or three, admonitions, and when all was in vain they cast them out of the church."

The Roxbury men disarmed were William and Edward Denison, Richard Morris, Richard Bulgar, and Philip Sherman. The reason of this extraordinary proceeding is thus set forth in the colonial records: —

"Whereas the opinions and revelations of Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson have seduced and led into dangerous errors many of the people here in New England, insomuch as there is just cause of suspition that they, as others in Germany in former times, may upon some revelations make suddaine irruption upon those that differ from them in judgment, for prevention whereof it is ordered," etc.

No wonder that in those days the saying was current in Connecticut that if a man was too bad to live with here in Massachusetts they sent him to Rhode Island, and when they found one a little too good they sent him to Connecticut, while the remainder, who were tolerable and of average orthodoxy and respectability, were allowed to remain. Of three citizens of Roxbury driven hence at this time, two,

John Coggeshall and Henry Bull, were afterwards governors of Rhode Island; while a third, Philip Sherman, became a distinguished citizen and founder of that colony.

An interesting event was that which took place at the old church in Roxbury on the thirteenth of the fourth month, 1654. All the neighboring elders and fathers of the church had assembled, together with Eliot's Indian converts, who were to be examined with a view to the formation of an Indian church. The number examined was eight, "so many as might be first called forth to enter into church covenant, if the Lord gave opportunity." It was thought best, however, to make haste slowly, and that Indian teachers should be trained up and instructed for the work, so that the first Indian church, that at Natick, was not formed until 1660.

Great was the excitement when the celebrated Whitefield preached here. He was well received by the clergy of Boston, with the single exception of Dr. Cutler, rector of Christ's Church, who met him one day on the street, and said to him, "I am sorry to see you here," and to whom Whitefield quietly remarked, "So is the devil." In his diary, under date of Friday, Sept. 26, 1740, he mentions preaching at Roxbury in the morning to "many thousands of people who flocked in from all parts of the country," and whom he must have addressed from the open space in front of the church, afterwards dining with Judge Paul Dudley.

Public services in the church were frequently suspended during the Revolution, the people having been very much scattered at the time of the siege. This, as well as the impoverishment occasioned by the war, prevented for some time a resettlement, and the pastoral office remained vacant until peace was declared. The pulpit was, however, usually supplied, Christian ordinances were administered, and various candidates for the ministry were heard on probation.

Most of the primitive churches being destitute of bells, the people were summoned by beat of drum. Once a year a

committee was chosen "to seat the meeting-house." Individuals were not pew or seat owners, the house belonging to the town, and the committee in the discharge of their duty decided in what seats or pews certain persons should sit when attending public worship. They were seated according to their age and estate; families were divided, men and women sitting apart on their respective sides of the house, while boys had a place separate from both, with a tithing-man to keep them in order. This was always some staid and vigilant person who made frequent rounds; the badge of his office was a pole, with a knob at one end and a tuft of feathers at the other; with the one he rapped the heads of the men, and with the other he brushed the women's faces when he caught them napping. As late as 1774, persons were fined for non-attendance at public worship. Excommunication was a common punishment for drunkenness and crime.

A church fully furnished had a pastor and a teacher, the distinctive function of the former being private and public exhortation, and of the latter, doctrinal and scriptural explanation. This practice went gradually into disuse. Each church had also one or more "ruling elders" and deacons, who had the charge of prudential concerns and of providing for the poor. They, as well as the teaching elders, were consecrated to their trusts with religious solemnities. Several entries on the church records tell us how the ministers "dews shall be raysed." One would rather like to understand the distinction implied in this: "the deacons to have liberty for a quarter of a yeare to git in every man's sume, either in a church way (?) or a Christian way, as he seeth cause."

Sermons were usually of an hour's length, measured by an hour-glass that stood upon the pulpit. Preaching with notes or reading sermons was very little practised in the first century. The reading of the Bible in the public worship, without exposition, was generally disapproved and stigmatized by the term "dumb reading." The singing was without instru-

mental accompaniment. As a most efficient means of promoting the religious education of their children and in the building up of the church, the Sunday school, commonly supposed to be a modern institution, was by no means overlooked by the pious founders of New England. "This day," say the church records (Dec. 6, 1679), "we restored our primitive practice for the training up our youth. First, our male youth, in fitting season after the evening services in the public meeting-house, where the elders will examine their remembrance that day, and any fit point of catechism; second, that our female youth should meet in one place, where the elders may examine their remembrance of yesterday, and about catechize or what else may be convenient."

Early in this century the Congregational churches were in a quasi-conservative state, few besides aged persons appearing at the communion-table, conversions among the young being rare and very noticeable when they occurred. Says an eminent authority, "Moderate Calvinism was professed by many of the clergy, and very moderate it certainly was." Our own Revolution and that of France, with the general shaking up and overturn of old ideas and established usages, contributed largely to this result. The change of the First Church from the Calvinistic to the Unitarian faith took place about the commencement of this century. "The interest in religion had so far declined," wrote an observer in 1820, "that although there are in the First Parish in Roxbury completed and building three churches within the compass of a few rods, those who prefer to spend their Sabbath in regular worship to lounging about taverns and pilfering in the fields, but half fill a single one." It was at this very time that two young men, to close a drunken nocturnal frolic, broke into Rev. Dr. Porter's church, tore the cushions in pieces, destroyed the Bible, removed the hearse from the graveyard, and performed other acts equally disgraceful. A radical change in our religious system was effected in 1833, when an amend-

ment to the Bill of Rights provided that the support of religion should no longer be a matter of obligation, but should be entirely voluntary. A member of any religious society or parish can now withdraw at will, and cease to be liable for society or parish expenses.

The first book printed in the English colonies, the New-England version of the Psalms, generally known as "The Bay Psalm Book," was the joint production of Eliot and Welde, of this church, and Richard Mather, minister of Dorchester. It was printed in 1639, taking the place of Ainsworth's version and that of Sternhold and Hopkins, continuing in use down to the period of the Revolution. When on Sunday, July 9, 1758, this version gave place to that of Tate and Brady, "some people," says the church record, "were much offended at the same."

"Welde, Eliot, and Mather mounted the restive steed Pegasus," says Rev. Elias Nason, "Hebrew psalter in hand, and trotted in hot haste over the rough road of Shemitic roots and metrical psalmody. Other divines rode behind, and after cutting and slashing, mending and patching, twisting and turning, finally produced what must ever remain the most unique specimen of poetical tinkering in our literature." Its type was unusally poor, and its punctuation such as to remind one of Lord Timothy Dexter's pepper-box. An edition was printed with a few tunes, the first music engraved in this country, in 1696. The music was in two parts, treble and bass, and a few directions were given for setting these tunes within the compass of the voice, so that the people could sing them "without squeaking above or grumbling below."

This book is of such rarity that an original copy brought a thousand dollars at a recent auction sale. Many editions of it were printed in Edinburgh, and it enjoys the distinction of being, in booksellers' parlance, the first book "pirated" from America. Rev. Thomas Shepard, of Cambridge, who thus criticises the poetical efforts of his brethren, does not exhibit

a very marked superiority over them in his verses upon the occasion: —

"Ye Roxbury poets, keep clear of the crime
Of missing to give us very good rhyme;
And you of Dorchester, your verses lengthen,
But with the text's own words you will them strengthen."

The early settlers of New England always sung congregationally. The whole number of tunes known to them did not exceed ten, and few congregations could go beyond five. Rising in their seats, they stood facing the pastor, and sang in unison each line as it was "lined out," or "deaconed off." The rule was to sing a note of "Old Hundred" to a beat of the pulse, which was at least one third quicker than we now render it. Rev. Thomas Walter, the pastor of this church, in his "Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained," complains that "for a want of a standard to appeal to in all our singing, our tunes are left to the mercy of every unskilful throat to chop and alter, twist and change, according to their sufficiently diverse and no less odd humors and fancies." As for the singing of the congregation, "it sounded like five hundred different tunes roared out at the same time," and so little attention was paid to time that they were often one or two words apart, producing noises "so hideous and disorderly, as is bad beyond expression." The manner of singing, also, had become so tedious and drawling that he himself had paused to take breath twice in one note.

Ebenezer Fox, a Roxbury lad, has furnished this reminiscence of the music of this old church in 1775: "Deacon Crafts, grandfather of Mr. Eben Crafts, used to read aloud one verse at a time of the psalm or hymn, which the choir would sing, and then wait till he had read another. Hymn-books were not in general use; they were, some time after, in the pews of the wealthy. At a subsequent period fuguing tunes were introduced, and they produced a literally fuguing effect upon the elder people, the greater part of whom went

out of church as soon as the first verse was sung." Our pious forefathers would not tolerate musical instruments in the sanctuary, not even a pitch-pipe being permitted in the early times. It was almost as hard sometimes to set the psalm as to raise the meeting-house. The tuner was assisted in his official duties by a comical instrument constructed something like a mouse-trap, called a pitch-pipe. It was introduced into the churches stealthily, kept out of sight, and passed along from lip to lip as slyly as a bottle of brandy in a stage-coach. The bass-viol, or the "Lord's fiddle," as they called it, came in later and incurred far more serious opposition. Dr. Emmons left his church and refused to preach because the singers persisted in its use. "I very well remember," says Fox, "the first Sabbath that the bass-viol was used as an accompaniment to the singing. The old, pious people were horror-struck at what they considered a sacrilegious innovation, and went out of meeting in high dudgeon. One old church-member, I recollect, stood at the church door and showed his contempt for the music by making a sort of caterwauling noise, which he called 'mocking the banjo.'"

The first volume of the records of the First Church, chiefly in Eliot's handwriting, contains "a recorde of such as adjoyned themselves unto the fellowship of this church of Christ at Roxborough; as also of such children as they had when they joyned, & of such as were borne vnto them vnder the holy covenant of this church who are most properly the seede of this church." In it are many curious and interesting particulars respecting the early inhabitants of the town. A few only of the more quaint or characteristic of these notices can be here given. The first name in it is that of the principal founder of the church and town:—

"Mr. William Pinchon came in the first company in 1630. He was one of the first foundation of the church at Roxborough; was chosen an assistant yearly so long as he lived among us. His wife dyed soon after he landed in New England. He brought four chil-

dren to New England, — Ann, Mary, John, Margaret. After some years he married Mris. Frances Sanford, a grave matron of the church at Dorchester. When so many removed from these parts to plant Connecticut River, he also with other company went thither and planted at a place called Agawam, and was recommended to the church at Windsor in Connecticut until such time as it should please God to provide y^t^ they might enter into church estate among themselves. . . . Afterwards he wrote a dialogue concerning justification, which was printed anno 1650, stiled 'The Meritorious Price,' a book full of errors and weakness and some heresies, which the General Court of y^e^ Massachusetts condemned to be burnt, and appointed Mr. John Norton, the teacher at Ipswich, to refute y^e^ errors contained therein.

"Mrs. Mary Dummer, the wife of Mr. Richard Dummer. She was a godly woman, but by the seduction of some of her acquaintances she was led away into the new opinions in Mrs. Hutchinson's time, and her husband removing to Newbury, she there openly declared herself & did also (together with others indeavor) seduce her husband & persuaded him to return to Boston, where she being going with child and ill, Mr Clark (one of the same opinions) unskilfully gave her a vomit, which did in such manner torture and torment her, y^t^ she dyed in a most uncomfortable manner. But we believe God tooke her away from worse evil which she was falling unto, and we doubt not but she is gone to heaven."

"Richard Lyman, came to N. E. in the 9^th^ month 1631. He brought children Phillis, Richard, Sarah, John. He was an ancient Christian but weake, yet after some time of tryal & quickening he joyned to the church. When the great removall was made to Connecticut he also went and underwent much affliction, for, going toward winter, his catle were lost in driving & some never found again, and the winter being could & ill provided, he was sick & melancholy yet after, he had some revivings through God's mercy & dyed in the year 1640.

"John Moody came to the land in the yeare 1633. He had two men servants y^t^ were ungodly, especially one of them who in his passion would wish himself in hell & many desperate words, yet had a good measure of knowledge. These two servants would goe to the oister bank in a boat & did against the counsel of their governor, where they lay all night & in the morning early when the tide was out, they gathering oisters did unskilfully leave their boat afloat in the verge of the channel, & quickly the tide carried it away so far

lnto the channel y^t they would not come neare it which maide them cry out and hollow, but being very early and remote were not heard till the water had risen very high upon them to the armpits as its thought, and then a man from Rocksborough meeting house heard them cry and call & he cryed and ran with all speed, & seeing their boat swam to it & helped to them, but they were both so drowned before anybody could possibly come, a dreadful example of God's displeasure against obstinate servants.

"Phillip Sherman came into the land in 1633, a single man and after married Sarah Odding, the daughter of the wife of John Porter by a former husband. This man was of a melancholy temper. He lived honestly and comfortably among us several years. Upon a just calling went for England & returned again with a blessing. But after his father in law John Porter was so carryd away with the opinions of familism & scism, he followed them & removed with them to the (Rhode) Island. He behaved himself sinfully in these matters (as may appear in the story), & was cast out of the church.

"Elizabeth Stow the wife of John Stow. She was a very godly matron attending not only to her family but to all the church, & when she had led a Christian conversation a few years among us, she dyed and left a good savor behind her.

"Henry Bull, a man servant came to the land in 1635. He lived honestly for a good season, but on a sudaine (being weake & affectionate), he was taken and transported with the opinions of Familism, & running in that scisme he fell into many and grosse sins of lying (as may be seen in the story), for which he was excomunicated, after which he removed to Rhode Island." (Afterward governor of Rhode Island.)

"William Frankling, in whom we had good satisfaction in his godlynesse, yet it pleased God to leave him to some acts of rigor and cruelty to a boy his servant who dyed under his hand. But sundry sins he was guilty of and the scandal so great y^t he was excomunicated y^t day month, the 21st of the 2d mo. 1644 & shortly after executed." (Winthrop's Journal tells us that "the church in compassion to his soul after his condemnation, procured license for him to come to Roxbury, intending to receive him in again before he died, if they might find him truly penitent. But though presently after his condemnation he judged himself and justified God and the Court, yet then he quarrelled with the witnesses and justified himself, and so continued even to his execution, professing assurance

of salvation and that God would never lay the boy's death to his charge, but the guilt of his blood would be upon the country.")

"Mris. Barker, a gentlewoman that came from Barbadoes hither for the gospel's sake. We found her not so well acquainted with her own heart & the ways and workings of God's spirit in converting a sinner unto God, yet full of sweet affection, and we feared a little too confident. We received her not without feare and jealousy.

"Sister Cleaves (alias Stebbins), was publicly admonished for unseasonably entertaining & corrupting other folks' servants & children, & hath corrupted Mr. Lamb's negro, who in a discontent set her master's house on fire in the dead of night, and also Mr. Swan's. One girl was burned and all the rest had much ado to escape with their lives." (This occurred on the night of July 12, 1681, and on Sept. 22d the incendiary, a woman, was burnt to death publicly in Boston, — the first to suffer such a death in New England.)

"—— Webb, the wife of William Webb. She followed baking, & through her covetouse mind she made light weight. After many admonitions & after sundry rebukes of a court & officers in the market, & after her speciall promise to the contrary, yet was again scandalously discovered in the open market as also for a habit of lying & shifting, after much admonition & also for a gross ly in public flatly denying y^t after she had weighed her dough she never nimed off bitts from each loaf, which yet was by four witnesses testified, and after appeared to be a common if not a constant practice, for all wh. gross sins she was excommunicated Oct. 23, 1642, her ways having long been a grief of heart to her godly neighbors. But afterward she was reunited to y^e church & lived chrystianly & dyed comfortably.

"—— Stebbins, the wife of Martin Stebbins. She was so vyolent in her passion that she offered vyolence to her husband, which being divulged was of such infamy y^t she was cast out of church, but soone after she humbled herself & was received in again."

It is noteworthy that the term of service of four of the pastors, Eliot, Nehemiah Walter, Porter, and Putnam, extends over a space of two hundred and nineteen years, covering the entire period of its history from the foundation to the present time, with the exception of twenty-seven years. It is little

less remarkable in these days of change that, with the exception of Welde, who went back to England, and the present pastor, all have begun and ended here their ministerial career, spending their lives in the service of this church. The succession of its pastors follows: —

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| THOMAS WELDE, | July, 1632, | d. England, | Mar. 23, | 1661 |
| JOHN ELIOT, | Nov. 5, 1632, | " Roxbury, | May 20, | 1690 |
| SAMUEL DANFORTH, | Sept. 24, 1650, | " " | Nov. 10, | 1674 |
| NEHEMIAH WALTER, | Oct. 17, 1688, | " " | Sept. 17, | 1750 |
| THOMAS WALTER, | Oct. 19, 1718, | " " | Jan. 10, | 1725 |
| OLIVER PEABODY, | Nov. 7, 1750, | " " | May 29, | 1752 |
| AMOS ADAMS, | Sept. 12. 1753, | " " | Oct. 5, | 1775 |
| ELIPHALET PORTER, | Oct. 2, 1782, | " " | Dec. 7, | 1833 |
| GEORGE PUTNAM, | July 7, 1830, | " " | Apr. 11, | 1878 |

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS, Oct. 10, 1875.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### SMELT BROOK TO THE PUNCH-BOWL.

Smelt Brook. — Roxbury Street. — Revolutionary Incident. — Gilbert Stuart. — Cabot Street. — Deacon Gridley. — Dr. Prentiss. — Laban S. Beecher. — Thomas Lamb. — Ionic Hall. — Parsonage. — Rev. Amos Adams. — Rev. Dr. Porter. — Old Grocery Store. — Lexington Alarm. — Burrill's Tavern. — Waitt's Mill. — Gore Homestead. — Grosvenor. — Tide Mill. — Pierpont. — Brinley Place. — Ward's Headquarters. — Gen. Dearborn. — Craft's Homestead. — Mill Dam. — Dr. Downer. — Punch-Bowl Tavern.

JOHN DANE, afterwards of Ipswich, came here in 1638. Among other matters related by him in the "Remarkable Providences" in his life is this: "My first cuming was to Roxburey. There I toke a pese of ground to plant of a frind, and I went to plant and having cept (kept) long in the shep (ship), the weather being hot I spent myself, and was veary wearey and thurstey. I cam by a spring in Roxbury Street, and went to it and drunk and drunk againe and againe manie times, and I never drank wine in my life that more refresht me, nor was more pleasant to me, as I then absolutely thout."

This delicious spring was undoubtedly Smelt Brook, which crossed the street in front of the Universalist Church, and which has long since disappeared. The old Cambridge Road here bends sharply to the west, and at this point the brook was formerly crossed by a bridge. Near the junction of Dudley and Washington Streets, in the rear of Institute Hall, there was also, in the early days, a spring of excellent water. Another noted spring was located not far from the northwest corner of Williams Street and Shawmut Avenue. This avenue,

from Boston to the Universalist Church, was constructed dur ing Mayor Ritchie's administration. Roxbury Street, from this point, laid out in 1652, was in 1663 described as "the highway from the upper end of the lane towards the meeting-house, and so down by the old mill, and so forward to Muddy River." It was also called the highway to Dedham, as far as the road now known as Centre Street, then as the Cambridge Road, afterwards as the Worcester Turnpike, and later as Washington and Tremont Streets.

Many persons will recollect the old house that stood opposite the Highland Railway station on Shawmut Avenue, and which was taken down in 1875, and a car-house erected on its site. It formerly stood where the brick block now is, opposite the green in front of the church, and was removed in 1851. Built in 1731 by an Englishman named Bell, a contractor for supplies to the king's troops in North America, it passed through various hands. Gardiner Greene, of Boston, having once owned it, and was in 1825 purchased by Edward Sumner, who, however, never lived there. The land, originally Elder Isaac Heath's, afterwards the property of his son-in-law, John Bowles, came into the possession of Edward Bromfield, whose heirs sold it to Bell. A Revolutionary incident connected with this house is related by Mr. Edward Sumner, of Dedham: —

"The road to Boston, until 1803, passed close to the eastern side of the house which was its front. Opposite the door there stood, in 1776, a large pear-tree. A shot from the South Battery in Boston took off a limb of the tree, and, glancing, killed Lieut. John Mayo, who was getting his men in readiness to march to Dorchester Heights, on the ground where the church stands, then occupied by the Americans, and covered with breastworks. This was the only casualty attending that important movement. In the autumn of 1840 an old, gray-haired man was seen examining this tree. He told an occupant of the house that he was a soldier in Mayo's company, and that he had never until now had an opportunity of revisiting a scene which had so deeply impressed him."

Just beyond Shawmut Avenue is a large, square house, built about the beginning of the century by Dr. John Bartlett, and subsequently owned and occupied by Dr. P. G. Robbins, father of Rev. Chandler Robbins. Gilbert Stuart, the greatest of American portrait-painters, the latter part of whose life was passed in Boston and Roxbury, resided here during the war of 1812, and while here painted full lengths of Commodores Hull and Bainbridge, now in the City Hall, New York. Portraits by him are found in many of the mansions of this vicinity, his skill being in constant requisition. Among them are those of Gen. Henry Dearborn, and his son, Gen. H. A. S. Dearborn, Gov. Eustis, Mr. and Mrs. Stedman Williams, Capt. Aaron Davis, Dr. John Bartlett and wife, Benjamin Bussey, and Elisha Whitney.

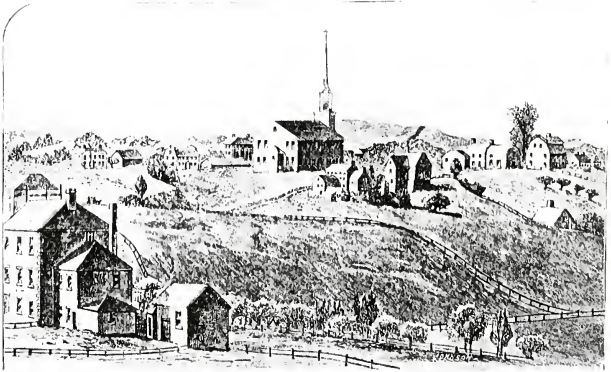
In person, Stuart was rather large, and his movements in the latter part of his life were slow and heavy, but not ungraceful. His features were bold and leonine, and a stranger would, on passing, mentally exclaim, "That is no ordinary man." His manner was of the old school and exceedingly well-bred, and his conversational powers remarkable. He possessed great conviviality and wit, and "every kind of sense but common-sense." He was a pupil of Benjamin West, whose portrait, painted by Stuart, is in the National Gallery at London. West introduced him to the celebrated Dr. Johnson as a young American from whom he might derive some information. After some conversation, the doctor observed to West that the young man spoke very good English, and turning to Stuart rudely asked him where he had learned it. Stuart promptly replied, "Sir, I can better tell you where I did not learn it, — it was not from your dictionary." Johnson seemed aware of his own abruptness, and was not offended. During Stuart's London life he was dissipated, and was more than once taken from a sponging-house by his friend Waterhouse, who paid the debts for which he was confined.

Stuart generally produced a likeness before painting in the

eyes. On one occasion, when a pert coxcomb had been sitting to him, the painter gave notice that the sitting was ended, and the dandy exclaimed on looking at the canvas, "Why, it has no eyes!" Stuart replied, "It is not nine days old yet." Said a sitter to Sir Joshua Reynolds, "Whom, Sir Joshua, excepting yourself, do you regard as the best portrait-painter in England?" He replied, "There is a young American artist here, named Gilbert Stuart, who is the best head painter in the world, not excepting Sir Joshua Reynolds."

Beyond the Bartlett mansion are several houses dating back to the commencement of the century, the first, now greatly dilapidated, having been occupied successively by Dr. Lemuel LeBaron and Humphrey Bicknell, a mason by trade and captain of the artillery company. Next comes the house of Joseph Seaver, afterwards occupied by Major Alexander H. Gibbs, founder and first captain of the Norfolk Guards and commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1823, a man of remarkably fine appearance and soldierly bearing. Jacob Allen's house is at the corner of Allen Place. The estate opposite, upon which the brick building known as the Washington Schoolhouse stands, was bought by the town in 1840. The house was finished in December of that year, and was the first grammar-school building erected for the purpose in Roxbury, always excepting the old Free School.

Cabot and Ruggles Streets formed the old town way that led to Gravelly Point. This way was laid out in 1663 between the lands of Rev. Samuel Danforth, formerly Capt. Joseph Weld's, and the heirs of Samuel Hagborn, over what was sometimes called "Hagborn's Neck." The Point ran out into the bay towards Cambridge, from where the old stone mill stood on Parker Street, at the mouth of Stony River. Where Sumner Place enters Cabot Street a battery was erected in the early days of the siege, upon rising ground



Meeting House Hill in 1790.

EDW. H. WHORF,
Room 17, 143 Federal St.,
BOSTON.

overlooking the marshes. It was connected by an abatis constructed of young apple-trees from Edward Sumner's orchard close by, with the American lines of defence, whose right extended across the Neck to Lamb's Dam. The Roxbury shore, wherever a boat-landing was practicable, was similarly protected, at the expense of the orchards and shade trees of the neighborhood. Edward Sumner owned the twelve acres of upland between Roxbury and Ruggles Streets, extending from Washington to Cabot. "Ned's Hill," the site of the "House of the Angel Guardian," was a part of his land, and fifty years ago was used as a training-field.

The house on the west corner of Linden Park and Cabot Streets has been the home of two well-known residents of the town, Deacon Samuel Gridley and Dr. N. S. Prentiss. It has been greatly altered in our day, but its frame is nearly a century and a half old. The estate of three acres was bought in 1727 of Timothy Parker, by Samuel Gridley, "cordwainer," of Pomfret, Conn., who was of the same family as Gen. Richard Gridley, the engineer, so conspicuous at Louisburg, Quebec, and Bunker's Hill. The name of Deacon Samuel Gridley, many years town clerk and selectman, is frequently met with in the records of the town, and is appended to many of the patriotic acts and resolves of Roxbury of the ante-revolutionary period. He filled this post until the year before his death, when "on account of old age and decay of nature," he requested the town by letter to find some one to take his place. The soul of this honest man and sterling patriot took its flight amid the roar of the cannon that covered the successful occupation of Dorchester Heights. When the siege was over, the old house, which had been occupied by the troops, had to be cleared, and the fences and walls rebuilt, so that the widow could live in it. His son, William Gridley, afterwards improved it for a tavern.

Dr. Nathaniel Shepherd Prentiss, who taught the old grammar school in 1801–7, was a selectman five years, a

representative three years, and town clerk thirty years, being re-elected yearly by an almost unanimous vote, and died Nov. 5, 1853, aged eighty-seven. His first residence was on Warren Street, where Munroe, the painter, lives. While teaching the grammar school he usually had about one hundred scholars, who stood very much in awe of him. One of his pupils was the Rev. Samuel Newell, a pioneer missionary to India. He taught a private school at his last residence, and in October, 1825 opened a school for education in the higher branches, on Dudley Street. For more than forty years, as teacher and officer, he labored with zeal and energy in the local affairs of Roxbury, where he was universally respected for his wisdom, integrity, prudence, and patriotism. In later life his tall, robust, and noble presence, locks white as snow, and open, pleasing countenance, always attracted the attention of strangers. His name stands first on the list of founders of the Eliot Church.

A story is told that illustrates the tact and good judgment of the Doctor. It was long the custom to elect newly married men to the useful but onerous office of hog-reeve. As a practical joke on the master, who had recently committed matrimony, and who in accordance with the time-honored custom had been elected to that dignity, some of the boys placed the carcass of a hog against the schoolroom door, where it was found when school opened. After the school exercises were over, the Doctor inquired who were the perpetrators of the deed. No one spoke, and he then declared that he would punish all unless the guilty ones came forward, at the same time appealing to their sense of justice by asking if they would allow those who were innocent to be punished. This had the desired effect. The culprits came forward. A procession was formed. Each delinquent was required to take hold of a leg or other part of the deceased porker and assist in carrying the remains to a distant field, where, under the supervision of a committee of the boys, they were finally buried.

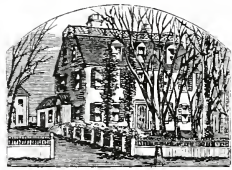
Laban S. Beecher, who resided on Linden Park, was the artist who carved the bust of Gen. Jackson as a figure-head for "Old Ironsides," the frigate "Constitution." Anything more obnoxious to the political opponents of the President in Boston could hardly be imagined, and after various means had been fruitlessly employed to stop the work and the bust had been placed on the ship, it was sawed off one stormy night, at the risk of his life, by Capt. Dewey, a Boston ship-master. Beecher also carved busts of Hull, Bainbridge, and Stewart to ornament the frigate's stern. Gilbert Stuart Newton, the painter, at that time the pupil of his uncle, Gilbert Stuart, resided here in 1815. He was an excellent colorist, possessing humor, genius, and pathos. He painted portraits of John Adams and Washington Irving. "The Dull Lecture" is one of his best known works. Luther Richardson, Esq., a prominent lawyer, who in the year 1800 delivered the Fourth of July oration before the town authorities, resided here at the beginning of the century.

Thomas Lamb came with the first settlers to Roxbury in 1630, bringing with him his wife Elizabeth, and two children. By a second wife, Dorothy Harbittle, he had several children. His homestead of eighteen acres lay between Meeting-House Hill and Stony River, west of the home lots of Isaac Heath and John Johnson. His son Joshua, an enterprising and wealthy citizen of Roxbury, died in 1690. His wife was Mary, daughter of Dr. John Alcock. Lamb, with others of Roxbury, was at one time a proprietor of Lambstown, now Hardwick, Mass., purchased of the Indians in December, 1686, for £20. Leicester was in 1713 granted by the General Court to Col. Joshua Lamb, grandson of Thomas. Lamb's Dam, near the present line of Northampton Street, and noted in the annals of the siege, was erected by Col. Joshua Lamb as a protection to his marsh land and works at the "Salt Pans."

Ionic Hall, one of the earliest of the brick mansions of

Roxbury, was built about the year 1800 by a Capt. Stoddard, of Hingham, for his daughter, Mrs. Hammond. It has since been put to a variety of uses, having been temporarily occupied by the First Religious Society while their present house was building in 1804, and is now known as St. Luke's Home for Consumptives. It was at one time the residence of Judge Leland, and was formerly of two stories only, additions having been made to it by Mr. Theodore Otis. William Lee, Esq., long United States Consul at Bordeaux, was once its occupant.

On the north side of Eliot Square, fronting the church and well back from the road, with some fine old trees before it, is the parsonage built by Rev. Oliver Peabody, a preacher of acknowledged ability, the successor of Nehemiah Walter, and whose brief life and ministry closed in 1752. It was subsequently, for about eighty years, tenanted by his successors, Rev. Amos Adams and Rev. Dr. Porter. It is in excellent preservation, and is now owned and occupied by Charles K. Dillaway, Esq. The parsonage, together with much other land north and west of it, belonged to Col. Joseph Heath.

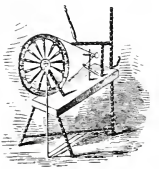


THE PARSONAGE.

Here, without doubt, was the headquarters of Gen. John Thomas. "The exigency of the times," that compelled the removal of Rev. Mr. Adams and his family at the commencement of the siege, was the occupancy of the hill for the main post of the army. The headquarters having, as we know, been on Meeting-House Hill, this would naturally be a most eligible situation, as from its rear windows Boston, the British works on the Neck, and even the heights of Charlestown were in full view. The battle of Bunker's Hill and the conflagra-

tion of Charlestown were witnessed from its upper windows by the general and his officers. Here, too, we find, a little later, our old friend Enoch Brown, whose house and shop on the Neck having been destroyed, had removed his wares and business to Cambridge, and who, now that the siege was over, having "yet left on hand a few valuable articles," sought here another opportunity for business. Benjamin Duick, victualler, and family, from Brookline or Cambridge, moved in in 1786.

Rev. Amos Adams, the sixth minister of the First Church, a native of Medfield, Mass., graduated at Harvard College in 1752, and was ordained here Sept. 12, 1753. His wife was Sarah, daughter of the eminent Dr. Charles Chauncy, of the First Church in Boston. Mr. Adams was a very energetic preacher, his voice was uncommonly sonorous and plaintive, and though some were disgusted with his plainness of speech and the length of his sermons, yet he was popular in the pulpit and had great influence over his people. He was an ardent patriot from the first, earnestly co-operating in the efforts of the people to stop importation from the mother country and to encourage domestic manufactures. An instance of the spirit that pervaded all classes at that time is found in the fact that one day in September, 1768, nearly sixty young women of Roxbury met together at the minister's house, and gave Mrs. Adams the materials for and the spinning of about one hundred score of linen yarn. "Such an unusual and beautiful appearance," says the chronicler, "drew a great number of spectators from town and country, who expressed the highest satisfaction at such an example of industry." Mr. Adams was scribe of the convention of ministers at Watertown, which, in May, 1775, recommended to the people to take up arms. Assiduous in his labors, he not



SPINNING-WHEEL.

only visited his own scattered parishioners, but also the soldiers stationed among them. It is said that after preaching all day to his own people, he addressed a regiment in the open air, and that his death, which speedily ensued at Dorchester, on Oct. 5, 1775, was occasioned by a fever brought on by this extra exertion and exposure. Dr. Eliot, the biographer, says he fell a victim to the then prevalent camp dysentery, which spread more than twenty miles in the environs of Boston. An obituary notice of Mr. Adams in the "Boston Gazette" says:

"He spent his time and strength with pleasure in the service of a grateful people, till, by the distress of the times, they were dispersed, and he himself obliged to leave his habitation and pulpit, from which time his labors were increased, but through an affection to the people of his charge, he went through them with cheerfulness, attending the small remainder of his flock every Sunday, though his family was removed to a distance among his friends. At the time he was seized with his last sickness he was engaged as chaplain to a regiment in the Continental army, who paid the funeral honors to his remains on the following Saturday."

Rev. Eliphalet Porter, D. D., was the son of a clergyman in North Bridgewater, who prepared him for the ministry. He was ordained Oct. 2, 1782, and died here Dec. 7, 1833, after a pastorate of fifty-one years. In October, 1801, he married Martha, the only child of Major Nathaniel Ruggles. At the time he began his ministry there had been a vacancy of seven years in consequence of the destruction and distress occasioned by the war; yet under his labors the church prospered, and he lived to witness the growth of what was then a small and scattered village into a populous and thriving town.

He was a sound, instructive, and practical, rather than a popular preacher, generally saying the right thing in the right manner and at the right time. Judge Lowell, who was long one of his constant hearers, remarked that of all the preachers he was accustomed to hear, there was no one who furnished more food to his intellect than his own pastor. As

a citizen he was influential, and was frequently called upon to assist in town affairs and in the support and management of charitable and other institutions, filling various offices of trust with wisdom, prudence, and fidelity.

Perhaps the most prominent event in Dr. Porter's life was his preaching the annual sermon at the convention of the Congregational ministers of Massachusetts, in 1810. This sermon was a surprise both to the Orthodox and the Unitarians, as it contained a bold and earnest defence of liberal principles, the doctor having gradually abandoned the Calvinistic ideas in which he had been educated. It produced great excitement at the time, and has been accounted the ablest of his printed productions. On the 7th of October, 1832, he preached a half-century discourse, containing some historical sketches of his parish and a review of his own ministerial labors.

REV. ELIPHALET PORTER.

Dr. Porter, who is remembered by many persons now living, was of common stature, erect and well proportioned in figure, and grave and dignified in manner. The movements of both his mind and body were marked by great deliberation. Though usually taciturn, he was, among his intimate friends, a cheerful and agreeable companion, and though he looked so sedate and grave, had a good deal of dry wit or humor, and great shrewdness and adroitness in parrying a pleasant

thrust. Rev. Charles Lowell, who when a child attended his ministrations, was one day talking with him about the Medical Faculty, concerning whom the doctor's praise was somewhat stinted. "Honor a physician," etc., was quoted. "Oh!" said he, "that is in the Apocrypha. I do not remember just now anything the Bible has said about them, except in reference to the woman who was vexed with many physicians and grew nothing better, but rather worse."

In those days party politics ran high, but once a year the leading men of both political parties would take a fishing excursion down the harbor, when all disturbing topics were dropped, and all "went in for a good time," the customary purse being made up for the first successful angler. Like most of the clergy of that period Dr. Porter was a warm Federalist, while Hon. Ebenezer Seaver, "the Squire," as he was called, was the leading Democrat of the town, and represented the district in Congress. After angling unsuccessfully for a long time, the latter hauled in the first fish. Skinning, beheading, and disembowelling his prize, he carried it, dangling at the end of a string, to where the doctor was diligently pursuing the apostolic avocation, and holding it up before him exclaimed triumphantly, "There, doctor, there 's a good honest Democrat for you! What do you think of that?" "Think?" said the doctor, with his usual deliberation and with the most imperturbable gravity, "why, I think it served him about right." The Squire, amid the roars of laughter from all sides that this remark elicited, disappeared into the cabin, and was dumb for the remainder of the day.

The old store, now Faunce & Putnam's, just beyond the parsonage, has always been a grocery store or a tavern, and has had a variety of owners. Before the Revolution it was kept by Blaney & Baker. Sharp practice in trade is not an exclusively modern invention, and the partners soon found that some envious competitor had been endeavoring to injure them. The "Gazette" of May 24, 1773, has this advertisement: —

"Blaney & Baker offer their stock of Liverpool ware, West India goods, etc. at their usual low rate, notwithstanding the false and malicious report of some ill-natured person that they had been mistaken in the cost of their goods, and had lately discovered their error and advanced the prices."

Here, during the siege, was the commissary store of Aaron Blaney, an assistant commissary of issues to the army. About the beginning of the century it was the store of Joseph and Nathaniel, nephews of Major Nathaniel Ruggles, who did a very large business here. Overhead was a large room, sometimes used as a hall, and in which town meetings were held between 1804 and 1811, the interval between the demolition of the old meeting-house and the completion of the Town Hall. The old store was enlarged in 1853.

Descending the hill and leaving on our left the Parting Stone, a mute witness of the stirring scenes of the Revolution, we now follow the Old Cambridge highway over which rode Lord Percy upon his white horse on the eventful morning of the 19th of April, 1775. With his brigade of twelve hundred men he had marched out of Boston over the Neck and through Roxbury to the assistance of Col. Smith, with whom the "embattled farmers" were at that moment exchanging shots at Concord Bridge, — the opening of the great Revolutionary drama. To his astonishment and alarm, Percy found the houses on the road deserted, and met no one who could give him tidings of Col. Smith's party, and until his junction with him remained in ignorance of all that had transpired. In derision of the Americans the brigade marched through Roxbury to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," at that time a favorite with the soldiers of King George. "A smart boy observing it," says Dr. Gordon, the historian, "made himself extremely merry with the circumstance, jumping and laughing so as to attract the notice of his lordship, who, it is said, asked him at what he was laughing so heartily, and was answered, 'To think how you will dance by and by to "Chevy

Chace."' It is added that the repartee stuck by his lordship the whole day."

It is impossible for us, in these peaceful days, adequately to picture to ourselves the excitement in Roxbury and those towns in the line of their march, when the news came that the dreaded "regulars" had come out, and that they had slaughtered the peaceful inhabitants of Lexington. Minute-men seize their arms and, tearing themselves away from their distracted families, hurry to the scene of conflict; women and children, terror-stricken for fear that the father, husband, or son in the patriot ranks would fall a victim to the merciless soldiery, hastily flying into the interior, taking only what they could readily carry with them; minute-men from the remoter towns hastening to the scene of action; while Rumor, with her thousand tongues, magnifies the wild reports of fire and slaughter, — all this made a scene of confusion and terror sadly at variance with the usual quiet and peaceful condition of the town.

MINUTE-MAN.

Samuel Hawes, of the Wrentham minute company, notes

in his diary that they got the alarm about ten o'clock on the morning of the 19th, and marched from there, "sun about half an hour high," towards Roxbury. He says: —

"We met Col. Greaton returning from the engagement, and he said that he would be with us immediately. Then we marched to Jamaica Plain, and heard the regulars were a coming over the Neck. Then we strip't off our coats and marched with good courage to Col. (Joseph) Williams's, and there we heard to the contrary. We stood there some time and refreshed ourselves, and then marched to Roxbury, and there we had as much liquor as we wanted, and every man drawed three biscuit, which were taken from the regulars the day before (19th), which were hard enough for flints. We lay on our arms until towards night, and then we repaired to Mr. Slack's house, and at night six men were draughted for the main guard."

In an old stone house that once stood at the corner of what is now Pynchon Street, lived Benjamin Waitt, a noted wag, the brother of Samuel. He kept a small grocery store near his house, and had plenty of leisure to play his tricks upon travellers. One of them will bear repeating: —

"Three or four countrymen, in search of employment, stopped at Ben's store, told their errand, and were gravely informed by him that a man 'up Brighton way' was fitting out a whaler, and was especially anxious to obtain a good diver. One of the applicants remarking that he would like that chance, Ben asked him if he thought he could stay long under water and keep alive, and received an affirmative reply. 'Suppose I try you,' said Ben, 'you holding your head under the water in that half hogshead standing by the pump in the yard.' The man readily assented, and plunged his head into the water, while Ben, watch in hand, awaited the result. When the poor fellow, nearly dead, pulled his head out, he was assured by his tormentor that if he could have held on one minute more he could have had the place. 'However,' said he, 'I will give you a recommendation'; and, giving a fictitious name and direction, the men departed upon a fruitless quest, only to discover that they had been badly victimized."

Opposite Prang's lithographic establishment there was a tavern kept nearly a century ago by Lemuel Burrill, who

subsequently kept the Punch-Bowl Tavern. His widow kept the "Half-way House," since known as Taft's, on the Dedham Turnpike, during the war of 1812. The building was a very old one, with a long pitched roof, and had a stable and ten-pin alley in the rear. It was well patronized in the days when this was the only route for teams coming from Cambridge, and the roads leading west and north, and a long string of them could usually be seen extending along the roadside. The building of the Mill-dam diverted most of this source of income, and the tavern ceased to pay. It was a much-frequented place for public festivities upon patriotic and civic occasions, upon some one of which, says tradition, the exhilaration proper to the occasion became so inextricably mixed up with the punch, that even good Parson Porter went home tipsy. Such a circumstance may have transpired at the celebration of July 4, 1808, when, the procession having formed at the house of Mrs. Burrill, at twelve o'clock, under direction of Major Bosson, marshal of the day, marched under the escort of Capt. Humphrey Bicknell's company of artillery to Rev. Dr. Porter's meeting-house, where an oration was delivered by Nathaniel Ruggles Smith, Esq.

At a later day the house was kept by a Mr. Gurney. Upon one side of its sign was painted a man on horseback setting out upon a journey, both man and horse in excellent condition, with the legend, "I 'm going to Ohio,"— emigration to that territory being then quite active. On the reverse side were seen the same steed and rider, both sadly crestfallen, and exhibiting unmistakable evidences of having seen hard times, and underneath, this significant motto, "I 've been to Ohio." It is pleasing to reflect that emigration to the territory that now forms the great State of Ohio did not entirely cease in consequence of this pictorial satire, which was probably the work of the Roxbury artist, Penniman.

Deacon "Billy" Davis lived in the large wooden building nearly opposite, and kept a West India goods store in the

lower part of it. He was peculiar in his personal appearance, being very short in stature, but was a good citizen and much beloved. One day, after a fit of despondency, he suddenly disappeared, leaving a note in which he stated that, of all deaths, he preferred that by drowning. Upon this hint his friends drained the mill-pond near by, and explored in the vicinity of the tide-mill, all to no purpose, when to their great relief and that of his family, in a letter from Albany, he informed them that he was alive and well.

Near the corner of Tremont and Roxbury Streets, and making it quite a centre of business, there was from the earliest days a grist-mill, the water from Stony Brook, which was dammed, furnishing the power. Here, in 1633, the first mill was built in Roxbury by Richard Dummer, the same who afterward, in consequence of unorthodox religious views, was obliged to quit Roxbury and settle in Newbury. For more than a century the Pierpont family were its proprietors, and as quite a settlement grew up around it, the locality acquired the name by which it was long known, of "Pierpont's Village." Early in this century it was known as "Waitt's Mill," the owner being Samuel Waitt, who also occupied an adjoining building for the manufacture of leather breeches, a kind of apparel not now in vogue, but considered quite the thing in those days of horseback riding and republican simplicity. In this business, Waitt's tact and shrewdness found constant exercise. If a customer expressed doubt as to whether the article shown was sufficiently large for him, his fears were quieted by the positive assurance, made use of on all occasions, "Lord love your soul, they will stretch and set like a glove"; and if, on the other hand, some spindle-shank put aside deprecatingly a pair of decidedly baggy aspect, Waitt was equally ready with his, "Lord love your soul, they will

OLD WIND-MILL.

shrink and set like a glove"; and his ready wit stood him in such stead that he rarely lost a customer.

Waitt passed off the stage in 1826, and was succeeded by Aaron Gay, father of the well-known stationer, who used the mill for woollen manufacturing, leather breeches being no longer in style. Later, it was a morocco factory, presided over by the fat and genial Guy Carleton, whose size was such that it was usual, when a standard of comparison was required, to say, "As big as Guy Carleton or Stephen Badlam," the latter being a well-known great man of Dorchester. These old buildings, together with the dam, were removed in 1870. The old mill-pond is dried up, the waters of Stony River now flow through the sewer, and the Boston and Providence Railroad Company has so completely obliterated the noble estates of John Lowell and Watson Gore that the changes wrought by these various agencies in the old mill village are of the most radical description. Near the mill-pond, at the southerly corner of Roxbury and Pynchon (formerly Lowell) Streets, is the house once the residence of Ralph Smith, who was an active and enterprising citizen early in the present century. Smith's Pond, where the dam was, formed a part of his estate, Pynchon Street being then nonexistent. The large square mansion, with horse-chestnut trees in front, near the crossing, was the residence of Mr. Samuel Waitt, before mentioned. He was a man of strict integrity, and died leaving considerable property, being the owner of the grist-mill at the corner of Washington and Tremont Streets, the tide-mill on Parker Street, and the large farm, formerly Scarboroughs', near Forest Hills.

Tremont Street was opened from its Boston terminus, near Chickering's piano-forte factory, to this point, Sept. 10, 1832, shortening the distance over half a mile, its extent from the Misses Byles's residence to Waitt's mill being two miles and six rods. So much opposition was manifested to this enterprise by citizens doing business on the "Neck," which it

must be borne in mind was then the only free thoroughfare connecting Boston with the country, toll being taken on the Mill-dam, that the Roxbury end of the Tremont Road could only be completed through private subscriptions. These were procured through the energetic efforts of Watson Gore and Guy Carleton, aided by John Parker and a few other wealthy men. The opening of this new road was of great benefit, and relieved Washington Street, which up to that period had been overcrowded with country teams. A project to extend this road to Jamaica Plain across Heath Street, which would have been of practical benefit to the town, was defeated by Mr. Lowell, through whose beautiful grounds it must necessarily have passed. A few years' respite only was gained by his opposition, for in a very few years the track of the Boston and Providence Railroad was laid through its entire extent.

The old Gore homestead, described in the book of "Houses and Lands" as containing four acres west of Stony River,

GORE HOMESTEAD.

bounded on the way leading to the Landing-Place and Tide-Mill, was on the southwest side of Tremont Street, just beyond the railroad crossing, and extended to Parker Street. Mr. Watson Gore, the last of the name to occupy the homestead, enlarged it and added a piazza. The old tan-pits and the hollow adjacent were filled up, and in their place were

laid out an elegant fish-pond and a charming garden and grounds. A brick block now covers the site of the Gore house, which was taken down in 1876. The name is perpetuated by Gore Avenue, which traverses a part of the old estate.

John Gore, the founder of this family in New England, came over in 1635, and settled in Roxbury, where he was for many years clerk of the writs, and died on June 2, 1657. Rhoda, his widow, afterwards married Lieut. John Remington, of "Remington's Paradise." John, his eldest son, was at Harvard College from 1651 to 1654. He was a skilful surveyor, was a selectman, and from 1688 to his death on June 26, 1705, was town clerk. About 1674 he leased the Bell homestead for twenty-one years, agreeing either to teach the free school, procure a substitute, or pay £12 pounds a year in corn or cattle. Samuel, the younger son of the emigrant, was a carpenter by trade, and was a selectman at the time of his death in 1692. Christopher Gore, governor of Massachusetts in 1809, was his great-grandson. The first two generations of this family lived wholly in Roxbury, but their descendants are now found in all parts of the Union. A family tradition, which, unlike the generality of such, seems to accord with the records, is as follows: —

"A wealthy lady in England, named Rebekah Crook, settled in Roxbury, and married a Mr. Gardiner. One day, as Mr. John Gore was at Mrs. Gardiner's house, the lady advised him to get married. Her infant daughter lay in the cradle which Mrs. Gardiner was rocking. He replied, 'Perhaps I'll wait for your daughter'; and it actually happened that when about fifty years of age he was married to Sarah Gardiner, the infant he had rocked in the cradle."

From Miss Wood's "Historical Sketches of Brookline" we take an anecdote of a person who must be well remembered by many of our citizens: —

"Miss Prudence Heath, or 'Prudy,' as she was called, was a curiosity worth seeing, with her immense black Leghorn bonnet and a great green silk umbrella which she usually carried. Though neither

witty nor facetious, her quaint speeches were sometimes very amusing. When the Providence Railroad was opened through Roxbury at the crossing of Tremont Street, it passed through the farm of her nephew, Mr. John Heath, and necessitated the removal of his house. The mind of Miss Prudy was greatly exercised, for she considered railways as modern innovations productive of unmixed evil. She visited in Roxbury at the old Gore place by the crossing, and after examining the track went home convinced of its dangerous tendency. 'Would you,' she asked of her friends, again and again. — 'would you ride in one o' them ravin' stages?' We may be quite sure *she* never did.

Remington's Paradise was so named in 1633 from its owner, Lieut. John Remington, who lived just beyond Parker Street. The Comins School is on a part of this estate. Its name, Paradise, still clings traditionally to the locality, although there is now absolutely nothing to suggest its appropriateness. Tradition says that the wife of John Gore, the emigrant, afterwards Mrs. Remington, was, on her arrival, carried over Boston Neck, the ground being swampy, upon the shoulders of two men. They stopped at a hill, and Mrs. Gore, being much fatigued, and delighted with the prospect, exclaimed, "This is Paradise!" and the place was afterwards called "Paradise Hill."

North of Tremont and between it and Parker Street, on both sides of Stony Brook, lay the Heath farm of fifty-four acres. John Heath was the last proprietor of the homestead, which stood until recently near where C. B. Faunce's grocery store now stands, on Tremont Street. Forty years ago there was no other house on the estate. Capt. Joseph Heath's residence was on the northwesterly corner of Parker and Tremont Streets, from which place Jonathan Champney's house has lately been removed. Capt. Heath was in the colonial service at the eastward, commanding Fort Richmond in York County, Maine, in 1724–30. He was a grandson of William, the emigrant, and died in 1744.

John Grosvenor's dwelling-house and four acres of orchard

and pasture were on the northeasterly corner of these streets. In 1678 the town granted his petition for a small parcel of land between the old meeting-house and the bridge, to make pits for liming his leather and for accommodating him for his trade. This grant "at the bridge and old mill was for liming leather in fee, and not to sell but for such use, and to be forfeit if it damage the water for cattle or man." Only two years before, the ancestor of the present Duke of Westminster, Sir Thomas Grosvenor, was married in the Church of St. Clement Danes, in the Strand, London, to Miss Mary Davies, the humble heiress of the farm now occupied by Grosvenor Square and its surroundings, which has brought such enormous wealth to his family. Our John Grosvenor's coat of arms, which we have seen on his tombstone in the old burying-ground, shows him to have belonged to the same family. He was one of the proprietors of Pomfret, Conn., whither in the year 1700 his widow and children removed. His dwelling-house was afterwards owned by Edward Sumner.

Parker Street, "The Way to the Landing-Place and the Tide-Mill," was described, when laid open in 1730, as beginning "before the old dwelling-house formerly Robert Pierpont's, now Edward Sumner's, between said Sumner's and Capt. Joseph Heath's, and so over the bank where the old malt-house stood." The landing-place was bought by the town in 1663 of the heirs of John Johnson. A military work erected here during the siege for the protection of the landing-place, known as Read's Battery, was held by a portion of the regiment of Col. Joseph Read, of Uxbridge, whose men were quartered in the immediate vicinity. In 1792 there were at this point several establishments, one of them owned by Ralph Smith, for the packing of provisions, the manufacture of soap and candles, etc., and vessels were laden with these articles here. Where Arlington Street now is, the channel of approach was then, having nine feet of water in it at low tide, and the Back Bay was at that time an expansive and beautiful sheet of water.

The tide-mill at the landing was, in 1650, known as Baker's Mill. It was sold in 1684 for £15. In 1655, liberty was granted to John Pierpont and others to "sett down a Brest Mill or Vndershott in or near the place where the old mill stood, neare Hugh Clarke's barn." In 1657, Pierpont bought the estate of fifty acres belonging to Capt. Hugh Prichard, lying west of Stony River and east of the highway to Muddy River: and in 1658, he was allowed to erect a fulling-mill on the river. A few old foundation timbers at the westerly end of Day's cordage factory indicate the spot where the old tide-mill formerly stood. Prichard's Island was at the mouth of Stony River. An old deed says, "It is an island now by reason of the Creeke that hath been digged before the same and the land of John Johnson's." Capt. Prichard, who was one of the founders of the free school, and who succeeded Capt. Joseph Weld in the command of the military company of Roxbury, returned shortly afterward to Wales, his native country.

John Pierpont probably came to Roxbury about 1648, when he bought John Stowe's place on Meeting-House Hill. During Philip's war, in 1675–6, he fortified his place where were "malting and mills for grinding and fulling, God having blessed him with a considerable estate." He died in 1682, at the age of sixty-four. His son James, "a student in y^e^ liberall arts," graduated at Harvard College in 1681, and was minister of New Haven at the time of his death in 1714. His brother Benjamin led a company from Roxbury in 1691 to found an independent church in South Carolina, and died in the ministerial office in Charleston in 1698. He gave his lands and mill interests in Roxbury to his brother James.

This is another of the principal families of Roxbury that, after being conspicuous for more than a century, has wholly died out here. From it have sprung the Connecticut Pierponts, John Pierpont, poet and clergyman, and Edwards Pierrepont, minister to England. Sarah Pierpont, daughter of Rev.

James and grand-daughter of John, became the wife of the eminent Jonathan Edwards. The only person of the name to throw discredit upon it was an adopted son of Hannah, widow of Robert Pierpont, on whose petition to the General Court his name was changed from John Murdock to Robert Pierpont. The facts were these: —

PILLORY.

"Pierpont, the owner, and Storey, master of the brig 'Hannah,' having procured a heavy insurance on their cargo for a voyage to the West Indies, the vessel was sunk in Boston Harbor, Nov. 22, 1801, and a large part of the insurance collected. Fraud being proved both as to the lading and loss of the brig, the court decreed that Pierpont and Storey be set in the pillory in State Street two several times, one hour each time, and imprisoned two years and pay the costs of prosecution. The sentence was duly executed, the pillory being placed near 'Change Avenue. This, it is believed, was the last time this punishment was ever inflicted in Boston."

Of "Joe" Pierpont, a "small-sized man of Roxbury," nicknamed the "Duke of Kingston" (whose family name was Pierpont), the story is told that he fought with the Hon. Capt. William Montague, commonly called "Mad Montague," brother of the Earl of Sandwich, and "drubbed him within an inch of his life." To his credit, Montague, who was notorious for his drunken sprees and nightly window-breaking in Boston, highly regarded the man for the rest of his days. Upon one of these occasions he, with a party from his ship, indulged in a regular sailor's lark on shore, and committed some depredations on the schoolhouse in what is now Scollay Square, for which warrants were issued against some of the offenders.

Passing the new cathedral of the Redemptorists, we come

upon a fragment of what once was one of the grandest houses in Roxbury. Built about the year 1723, by Col. Francis Brinley, upon the estate of eighty acres formerly Palsgrave Alcock's, it was styled by its owner "Datchet House," having been modelled after the family seat of the Brinleys, at Datchet, England. This name recalls Datchet Mead, near

BRINLEY PLACE.

by, the scene of Falstaff's memorable experience in the buck-basket of which he, with indignant pathos, exclaims: —

"There was the rankest compound of villanous smells that ever offended nostril."

In a somewhat fanciful description of Datchet house by Mrs. Emily Pierpont Lesdernier, it is spoken of as of "remarkable magnificence," and as having been known a century ago as "Pierpont Castle." This lady's great-grandfather, Robert Pierpont, a merchant, a member of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, and a commissary of prisoners during the war, bought the property of Col. Brinley's heirs in 1773. I quote from a little volume from her pen, entitled "Fannie St. John": —

"It was situated in the midst of a large domain of park and wooded hills, and presented a picture of grandeur and stateliness

not common in the New World. There were colonnades and a vestibule whose massive mahogany doors, studded with silver, opened into a wide hall, whose tessellated floors sparkled under the light of a lofty dome of richly painted glass. Underneath the dome two cherubs carved in wood extended their wings, and so formed the centre from which an immense chandelier of cut glass depended. Upon the floor beneath the dome there stood a marble column, and around it ran a divan formed of cushions, covered with satin of Damascas, of gorgeous coloring. Large mirrors with ebony frames filled the spaces between the grand staircases at either side of the hall of entrance. All the panelling and woodwork consisted of elaborate carving done abroad, and made to fit every part of the mansion where such ornamentation was required. Exquisite combinations of painted birds and fruit and flowers abounded everywhere, in rich contrast with the delicate blue tint that prevailed upon the lofty walls. The state-rooms were covered with Persian carpets, and hung with tapestries of gold and silver arranged after some graceful artistic foreign fashion. The old place has suffered many changes at the hands of its various owners, who, in attempting modernizing, have destroyed almost every vestige of former magnificence."

So true is this, that it is difficult for the visitor of to-day, who looks upon its bare walls and curtailed proportions, to realize that it could ever have been the seat of such splendors as are here described. Tradition, however, tells us of an apartment hung with blue damask, and known as the "Blue Chamber." On coming to Roxbury, and until the parsonage at Jamaica Plain was prepared for him, Rev. William Gordon resided here.

To the right of the large hall in the centre of the building, fourty-four feet in length and twenty-two in depth, and which occupied the entire space between the two wings, was the reception-room. During the siege of Boston the mansion was the headquarters of Gen. Ward, who commanded the right wing of the American army; and in this room, shown in the lower right-hand corner of the engraving, were held the councils of officers, at which Washington presided, and where the details of the occupation of Dorchester Heights were

arranged. Under date of Oct. 10, 1775, Rev. Dr. Belknap records in his diary, that he "lodged at Mr. Robert Pierpont's, where Gen. Ward resides. In conversation with Mr. Joshua Ward, his aide-de-camp, I found," says Belknap, "that the plan of independence was become a favorite point with the army, and that it was offensive to pray for the king. Ward appears to be a calm, cool, thoughtful man." This is one of the earliest indications of a public sentiment favorable to throwing off allegiance to the British crown, and shows that the people were upon this important question far in advance of their leaders. On the 17th of November, Washington writes to Ward as follows: —

"*Sir*, — As the season is fast approaching when the bay between us and Boston will in all probability be close shut up, thereby rendering any movement upon the ice as easy as if no water was there, and as it is more than probable that Gen. Howe when he gets the expected reinforcement will endeavor to relieve himself from the disgraceful confinement in which the ministerial troops have been all this summer, common prudence dictates the necessity of guarding our camps wherever they are most assailable. For this purpose I wish you, Gen. Thomas, Gen. Spencer, and Col. Putnam to meet me at your quarters to-morrow at ten o'clock, that we may examine the ground between your work at the Mill and Sewall's Point, and direct such batteries as shall appear necessary for the security of your camp on this side, to be thrown up without loss of time."

Measures were immediately taken to strengthen this part of the lines, and several batteries and redoubts were erected at available points on the shore. A redoubt with three embrasures, on the southerly side of Muddy River, was in good condition fifty years ago. At a council of war held at Gen. Ward's headquarters, on March 13, 1776, it was determined that if Boston were not evacuated the next day, Nook's Hill in South Boston should be fortified the next night. This was accordingly done on the following Saturday night, and on Sunday Howe hastily evacuated the town. The details of the occupation of Dorchester Heights, on the night of March

4th, were left wholly to Ward, Thomas, and Spencer, who commanded in this quarter. They had been for some time collecting fascines, gabions, etc., unknown to Gen. Washington, expecting they would soon be wanted for this purpose. But for their foresight it is doubtful whether they could have been in sufficient forwardness when the operation began.

Major-Gen. Artemas Ward, the first commander of the American forces, on the arrival of Washington, took command of the right wing at Roxbury. He was a native of Shrewsbury, Mass., and a veteran of the seven years' war, having served as a lieutenant-colonel under Abercrombie. He had likewise been a member of the legislative bodies of the province, but was too old and infirm to discipline and control the motley assemblage around him, being unable even to appear in the saddle.

The first entry in Gen. Ward's order book is dated the day after the Lexington battle, and is as follows: —

"HEADQUARTERS CAMBRIDGE, April 20, 1775.

"Ordered that Col. Gardiner repair immediately to Roxbury, and bring all the bread that can be obtained."

To provide for the wants of the multitude of hungry minute-men then assembling around Boston, this order was issued by Gen. Heath, who was aware that there was a quantity of ship-bread belonging to the British navy then stored at Roxbury. Some other items of interest are here presented from the same source: —

"*April 21.* Cols. Prescott, Warner, and Learned to march their regiments immediately to Roxbury to join Gen. Thomas.

"*June 30.* That all profane swearing and cursing, all indecent language and behavior, *will not be tolerated* in camp. That all possible care be taken that no lewd women come into camp, that such as do may be brought to condign punishment, and rid the camp of all such nuisances.

"*July 4.* Firing of cannons and small arms from any of the lines or elsewhere, except for defence or by special orders, is prohibited.

"*12.* No trumpeter or flag of truce allowed to pass the guard.

"*14.* Pikes to be greased twice a week.

"*Feb. 26, 1776.* Playing at cards or other games of chance at this time of public distress particularly forbidden. Men may have enough to do in the service of their God and their country, without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality.

"*March 8.* His Excellency returns his thanks to the militia of the surrounding districts, for their spirited and alert march to Roxbury last Saturday and Sunday, and for the noble ardor they discovered in defence of the camp of liberty and their country.

"*23.* Col. Gridley is to apply to Gen. Ward for such men as are necessary for the demolishing the lines on Boston Neck, who are to see the work executed as fast as possible. Such parts of these works as may be of service for our defence are to be preserved."

Gen. Henry Dearborn became the owner of Brinley Place in 1809, and at his decease, June 6, 1829, was buried just in front of the new cathedral. His son. Gen. H. A. S. Dearborn, resided here until his removal to Hawthorne Cottage, on Bartlett Street. In the summer of 1821, Gen. Dearborn received a visit from the West Point cadets, who marched the entire distance from West Point to Boston. They numbered two hundred and fifty, and were commanded by Col. William J. Worth, afterwards a general, and distinguished in Mexico. They were met on arrival at the old Punch-Bowl Tavern by many citizens, and by the Norfolk Guards, of Roxbury, who escorted them to their camping ground on the hill opposite the general's residence. A day or two after they arrived, they, with a large number of other invited guests, partook of a sumptuous repast in the garden in the rear of the Dearborn mansion. On the following day they were escorted to Boston, where they remained some days in camp on the Common.

A sub-cellar, cut in the rock and used as a wine cellar, was accidentally discovered during the occupancy of Mr. John Bumstead by a workman, whose crow-bar, penetrating the wooden trap-door leading to it, slipped from his grasp and

disappeared. A search disclosed the apartment, whose existence had been unknown since Col. Brinley's day, and revealed the remains of wine casks and the aroma of choice spirits long since departed. Apropos of this wine cellar, there is a story that Col. Brinley, fancying that his choice wines disappeared remarkably fast, secreted himself here one evening, when his neighbor Whitney's colored servant, Pompey, was making a visit to Sambo, the servant of the colonel. Soon the pair entered, and Sambo, filling his goblet, proceeded to take in its contents, exclaiming, "Better times, Pomp!" "Better times!" was the response, as Pompey, nothing loath, imitated his friend's example. Just then a new actor appeared on the scene, and the enraged colonel laid his cane in no scanty measure over the heads of the culprits. "'Better times,' you black rascals! 'better times,' do you say, drinking wine that cost me a guinea a bottle? I'll give you 'better times,' you infernal black scoundrels!" And the colonel, so runs the story, swore as terribly as they ever did in Flanders.

The Ursuline Sisters, after their cruel expulsion from Mount Benedict, on the night of Aug. 11, 1834, when the torch was applied to the residence of a few women and children by a cowardly mob impelled by fanaticism, — these devoted women occupied Brinley House for about a year, but their school had been so rudely broken up that it was some time before it recovered from the shock. So great was the excitement in the town as the news spread that the nuns had taken refuge here, that an outbreak seemed imminent. Fortunately the impending danger and disgrace to the town were averted by the vigorous and determined efforts of John J. Clarke, Ebenezer Seaver, and other prominent and influential citizens. Capt. Spooner's company guarded the premises; and his orders, which were, when the proper moment arrived, to fire ball-cartridges only, having been made public, the would-be rioters were completely overawed.

After passing through several hands, the estate was bought in September, 1869, by the Redemptorist fathers, who, on Sunday, May 28, 1876, laid the corner-stone of their cathedral a little to the east of the old house. That same night a fire so injured the old building that the eastern portion of it had to be taken down. Other changes have been made. Additions have been built in the rear, and the chapel has been moved close up to the remaining half of the house, the upper portion of which has been taken away. The large garden back of the house, once so lovely and filled with rare trees and beautiful shrubbery, has gone to decay, and lost all its old-time attractiveness. This once charming locality has completely lost its identity, and the region from the Parker Hill quarries to "Grab Village" is now largely occupied by natives of the Emerald Isle and their numerous progeny.

Col. Francis Brinley, the original proprietor of this, one of the oldest of the historic mansions remaining in Roxbury, was a native of London, and was educated at Eton. He came to Newport, R. I., in 1710, at the invitation of his grandfather, Francis Brinley, who made him his heir. In 1718 he married Deborah Lyde, of Boston. Both lived in Roxbury to a good old age, and were buried in King's Chapel, of which he was one of the founders. He was colonel of the Roxbury regiment, and deputy surveyor-general of the province, and was distinguished for his manly virtues and personal worth. His death took place on Nov. 27, 1765, at the age of seventy-five.

Notwithstanding the alacrity shown in volunteering for the Louisburg expedition, the governor was compelled, by the exigency, to employ force in order to man the vessels that were to accompany it. Col. Brinley was, in the execution of his orders, rendered unpopular, and in explanation of his conduct wrote the following letter to the selectmen of Roxbury: —

"GENTLEMEN, — I have been an inhabitant of this town fifteen or sixteen years. When Gov. Belcher came to the chair I might have sustained the command I now do in the militia. When Shirley came in, by much importunity I was prevailed on by Col. William Dudley to be his lieutenant-colonel; at his death, the representations of the officers caused me to accept what I had twice refused. On the 8th of March last, I received His Excellency's express commands at midnight to impress twenty men out of the town of Roxbury for the sea service, which I looked upon as too heavy a burden on us after the duty already done, and accordingly by five o'clock next morning sent my son with a letter to His Excellency, praying for relief by affording me the assistance needful out of some neighboring towns, whose answer was verbal by my son, saying he was sorry he could not oblige me for it was not his doing, being stated by the General Court in each town respectively, etc.

"May 6, 1745."

Henry Dearborn was a young medical practitioner at Nottingham Square, New Hampshire, when he received the appointment of captain in Stark's regiment. Joining it at Medford, on May 15, 1775, with a full company raised by himself, he participated in its memorable service on the 17th of June, on Bunker's Hill, at the rail fence to which a covering of new-mown hay gave the appearance of a breastwork, though in fact it afforded no real protection to the men.

A volunteer in Arnold's expedition through the wilderness to Quebec, he was reduced by hunger to the extremity of dividing his favorite dog among his starving men. A violent fever nearly carried him off, but he recovered, and in Arnold's attack on the citadel was wounded and made a prisoner. Exchanged in March, 1777, and appointed major of Scammell's regiment, he distinguished himself in both the battles at Saratoga. Transferred to Cilley's regiment, its steadiness and gallantry at Monmouth attracted the notice of the commander-in-chief, who inquired of Dearborn, "What troops are those?" "Full-blooded Yankees, from New Hampshire, sir," was the reply. Washington expressed his commenda-

tion of them in general orders next day. At the close of the Yorktown campaign Dearborn was colonel of the First New Hampshire Regiment. He was a member of Congress for several years; was Secretary of War under Jefferson from 1801 to 1809; collector of Boston from 1809 to 1812; general-in-chief on the Canadian frontier in 1812–13, conducting the expedition that captured York, now Toronto; and finally minister to Portugal, in 1822–24.

Dearborn was a man of imposing presence, being full six feet in height and weighing over two hundred pounds. Active and athletic, he was in his youth a famous wrestler, and was well fitted for the toils and fatigues of war. Sarah Bowdoin, a niece of Gov. James Bowdoin, to whom he was married in 1813, and who accompanied him in his mission to Portugal, was noted for benevolence, sweetness of temper, and goodness of heart. Her father, William Bowdoin, a merchant, resided in Roxbury until his decease in 1773, and was a member of several important committees of the town during the agitation that preceded the Revolutionary war. The marriage of Mrs. Bowdoin and the general, though occurring late in life, had quite a romantic origin in their early days. Among the mementos preserved in the family of the general is the following order, whereby hangs a tale: —

GEN. HENRY DEARBORN.

"MEDFORD, June 8, 1775.

"CAPT. HENRY DEARBORN, — You are required to go with one sergeant and twenty men to relieve the guards at Winter Hill and

Temple's to-morrow morning at nine o'clock, and there to take their place and orders, but first to parade before New Hampshire Chambers (Billings's Tavern).

"JOHN STARK, *Col.*"

Upon the back of the order is this indorsement in Dearborn's handwriting: —

"First time I ever mounted guard."

Robert Temple, above named, whose brother, Sir John, married Elizabeth, daughter of Gov. Bowdoin, was the proprietor of Ten Hills Farm, at Medford, originally the property of Gov. Winthrop. He had a daughter Margaret, who was frequently visited at Ten Hills by her cousin, Sarah Bowdoin. Capt. Dearborn's orders required him to have an eye upon Temple, who was suspected of a correspondence with the enemy in Boston. After posting his guards, Dearborn, somewhat fatigued, threw himself upon a settee, and wrapping his tall, manly form in his cloak, took a nap. Soon Miss Bowdoin, who had been walking in the garden with her friend, entered the house, and saw him as he lay there asleep. They immediately withdrew; but alas! too late. In that brief moment Miss Bowdoin had lost her heart to the "splendid young rebel officer," as she called him, and told her friend that she must make his acquaintance. Mr. Temple was prevailed upon to open the affair to Capt. Dearborn, who told him that, though only twenty-four years old, unfortunately for the hopes of the young lady, he was married and had two children. She afterwards married her cousin, James Bowdoin, minister to Spain, who left her a widow in 1811. Two years later she was married to the object of her girlish fancy.

The general's grandson, Henry G. R. Dearborn, has in his possession the motto "Liberty," cut from the flag of the Third New Hampshire Regiment, which floated at Saratoga, Monmouth, and Yorktown. He also has the general's por-

trait, painted by Stuart in 1812, and pronounced one of the artist's happiest efforts. Dearborn having been hastily summoned to the chief command on the northern frontier, the head was sketched in three sittings of an hour each.

The second General Dearborn, named for his father and his father's old colonel, Alexander Scammell, filled a large space in the public eye for nearly forty years. Born in Exeter, N. H., in 1783, he was educated at the College of William and Mary, and then studied law. Among other public employments he held the office of collector of the port of Boston in 1812–29; representative from Roxbury and member of the Executive Council in 1829; senator from Norfolk in 1830; member of Congress in 1831–3; adjutant-general of Massachusetts from 1833 until removed for loaning the State arms to aid in suppressing the Dorr Rebellion in Rhode Island in 1843; and mayor of Roxbury from 1847 to his decease, July 29, 1851.

GEN. H. A. S. DEARBORN.

Prominent in many useful and benevolent enterprises, he was one of the chief promoters of the rural cemetery at Mount Auburn, the first of its kind in the country, and to him belongs much of the credit for the architectural and rural taste there manifested. Roxbury is under peculiar obligation to him as the originator of Forest Hills Cemetery. Tall and commanding in person, like his father, and with flowing curly hair, he was remarkable for his manly beauty and lofty bearing.

He usually drove to the Custom House in a stately carriage, drawn by a double span of horses, with postilions, and his elegant turnout was the envy of all who saw him. In his day, the fine old mansion was the constant scene of courtly manners and aristocratic display. His doors were open, his hospitality unlimited, and his associations brought numbers of the highest and most honored of the land to his house. Among his guests and visitors was the gallant Bainbridge, who, while commandant of the Navy Yard, frequently came in his barge manned by the blue jackets, landing at the creek which flowed up into the rear of his grounds. His industry was remarkable, and as a public officer he established a high reputation for patriotism, integrity, and fidelity. "He sleeps," says Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, "in the consecrated ground which his genius planned and which his taste adorned, beneath the flowers his own hand planted. Truly he rests from his labors and his works do follow him."

On Faxon's Hill, so called, opposite Brinley Place, and in front of the quarries, is the first stone building erected in Roxbury. Originally of one story, it was built many years ago by Eleb Faxon, who, from 1802 to 1820, had a blacksmith's shop here. Mr. Faxon cast cannon that were in use during the war of 1812 at the old chocolate mill near the Punch-Bowl Tavern. Part of an old dam and flume are still visible at the outlet to Willow Pond, then receiving in far greater quantity than now the surplus from Jamaica Pond, which here formerly ran a chocolate mill, and later, a forge and trip hammer. Mr. Faxon, who was quite successful as a manufacturer of axes, lived in a large wooden house, yet standing, opposite his shop. Just beyond the shop was a small schoolhouse, kept sixty years ago by a Mr. Walker, to accommodate the Punch-Bowl district.

Col. Joseph Dudley owned and occupied the estate next beyond Brinley Place. That portion of it that included the mansion house came into the possession of the wealthy

Ebenezer Francis, and is still owned by his heirs. Col. Dudley, a farmer, a man of strict honesty and integrity, inherited the large landed estate of the Dudleys, which, after remaining for nearly two centuries in the family, was alienated by him in this wise: Fancying himself rich in consequence of some sales of land made for him by H. G. Otis and others, he indulged in a style of living far beyond his means, and that soon reduced him from affluence to comparative poverty. Col. Dudley's gift to the town has already been mentioned, and such was the open-handed generosity of the man that, had his means permitted, there would not have been a poor person in Roxbury. In 1820 he was persuaded to lay claim to a Dudley peerage then dormant, and sent an agent to England armed with the family papers and other proofs in support of his title, which his legal adviser assured him was perfectly good. Nothing came of it, however, and the papers are supposed to have been lost.

Until within a few years, a square redoubt, the most northerly of the fortifications erected in Roxbury by the Americans during the siege, and completely commanding Muddy River, was visible on this estate near Appleton Place, at the extreme point of the upland, to the west of and very near Brookline Avenue.

Beyond is the estate which has for more than two centuries been in the possession of the Davis family. Ebenezer, its founder, came from Wales, and acquired by his trade of a blacksmith a considerable estate. Isaac Davis, its last male representative, a worthy farmer, and a man of old-fashioned honesty and integrity, was for thirty years treasurer of the town and for seventeen years its representative. His widow, a daughter of Aaron White, of Mount Pleasant, at the age of ninety-three, resides here with her son-in-law, Mr. John L. DeWolf.

The old Crafts house, which is yet standing in excellent preservation on Tremont Street, near the foot of Parker Hill

Avenue, was built by Ebenezer, son of Lieut. Samuel and grandson of Griffin Craft, a cordwainer by trade, and ensign of the Roxbury military company. The land on which it stands, originally Robert Seaver's, "passed by agreement" in 1705 from John Ruggles, the grandson of Griffin Craft, who inherited and dwelt upon it, to his cousin. Ebenezer Craft, who erected the house thereon in 1709, as appears by the date on the chimney. About the year 1796 the back part of the house, being of one story at the eaves, was taken down, and a new part built one and a half stories high, with its long rafters extending up to the dated chimney. Six generations of the descendants of Griffin Craft have occupied this old house, viz., Ensign Ebenezer, his grandson; Deacon Ebenezer, son of the ensign; his son, Daniel; Major Ebenezer, son of Daniel; William A. Crafts and Susan H. Gallup, children of the major; and their children. In November, 1871, it was sold, together with a portion of the farm, to Stillman B. Allen, of Boston, having never before been conveyed by deed.

CRAFTS HOMESTEAD.

Before the bridge from Boston to Cambridge was built, and when holidays were of rare occurrence and were appreciated accordingly, all the riding between the two places passed over this road. Here the family and their friends and neighbors would gather on Commencement Day at Harvard College, then a most attractive celebration, to witness the

gay equipages, and the stream of animated life in holiday attire, flowing through Roxbury to attend and participate in the literary festival.

Griffin Craft, the founder of this family in New England, was perhaps the first white settler in Roxbury, the birth of his son John, on July 10, 1630, being the first entry in the records of the town. As this event was coincident with Pynchon's settlement in Roxbury, Craft probably came over to New England in the company of Winthrop. His homestead and farm were situated near Muddy River, the present boundary line between Roxbury and Brookline. Besides holding many town offices and other public trusts, he was a deputy to the General Court in 1638, also from 1663 to 1667, a member of the artillery company in 1668, and lieutenant of the military company of Roxbury from 1653 to 1676. In 1650 he was one of the five men to "order the town affairs." In 1653 he was one of the committee to make "a record of houses and lands" in Roxbury; and in 1658 he with four others was selected to settle the boundary dispute with Dedham. From this Roxbury patriarch, who died old and blind on Oct. 4, 1689, nearly all of the name in New England are descended. John, his son, lived near Gamblin's End (School Street), on the west side of Stony River, and adjoining William Curtis.

Lieut. Samuel, second son of Griffin, whose estate he inherited, and whom he outlived but a single year, was equally prominent with his father in the affairs of the town. Like him, he was lieutenant of its military company and frequently selectman, and in 1689 was one of those chosen to take a list of all the real and personal estate of each of the male inhabitants of Roxbury. He was one of twelve to whom the "Mashamoquet purchase" at Pomfret, Conn., was granted in 1687, and on which his grandson Joseph settled in 1725. His widow, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Seaver, lived to the age of eighty-eight. Their daughter,

Alice, was remarkable not only for her numerous marriages, she having borne successively the names of Lovering, Lyon, Greenwood, Shedd, and Winchester, but also for her longevity, as she died in 1783, at the ripe age of one hundred and one. Her brother Nathaniel was a tanner or miller in Roxbury on the banks of Stony River, perhaps on the land of his uncle John. Nathaniel's son, Jonathan, has numerous descendants in Roxbury, and would doubtless have attained to great age, had he not in 1801, at the premature age of ninety-three, fallen from an apple-tree. He married Susannah Gore, and their six children all married, allying themselves with the Williams, Davis, Hurd, and other prominent families, and all living in Roxbury, with the exception of Capt. Abner Crafts, of Watertown.

Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Deacon Ebenezer Craft and Susannah White, married Caleb White, of Brookline, and died in the old house in 1839 at the age of ninety-two. Her grandmother, "Madam" Ann White, an energetic woman of the old school, habitually made her Sunday-morning toilet over a pail of water for want of a looking-glass, and then walked to the Roxbury meeting-house, some five miles, to attend a long day's service. Elizabeth, or "Aunt White," as she was affectionately called in her latter years, was a woman of superior culture. She was a great reader, had an excellent memory, and wrote well both in prose and verse.

Slaves were held for domestic service by the more wealthy Roxbury families prior to the Revolution, and there is extant a bill of sale in 1739 of a slave owned by Richard Champion, of Boston, schoolmaster, for £100, "unto Ebenezer Craft, of Roxbury, a negro girl named Dina, about eleven years old, together with all her wearing apparell." Dina proved a good investment, and for sixty years rendered faithful service, dying in 1803 at the age of seventy-five. The ensign's previous transaction in wool had not turned out happily. He had paid £105 for a negro girl named Flora to Ebenezer Dorr, who soon afterwards wrote him as follows: —

"*Sir*, — I am sorry you did not Lett me see you yesterday. I perseve you still meet with troble with the negro which I am exceeding sorry to hear, as I told you at your house I intended you no harm but good. I did bye you as I would be done by, & I still intend to do by you as I would be done by if I were in your case but, however you must think as to the sale of the negro it is — by means of selling her to you for it is all over town that youre discurege and wold give ten pound to have me take her againe I apprehend I had better given you twenty pounds, than ever you had been consarned with her. I would not a thanked any body to have given me £100 for her that morning before you carried her away, but however, seeing it is as it is, we must do as well as we can. I wold have you consult with the Justes and consider my case allso and do by me allso as you wold be done by. If I had your money as the Justeses bond I should be under the same consarn that I am now. Pray Lett me see you if you please and if we can accommodate the matter to both our satisfaction I shall be very free in the matter that is if I hear no Reflecsions, for I do declare I was sinsere in the whole matter.

"From yours to serve

"EBENEZER DORE.

"Jannary the 6, 1735-6."

Ebenezer Craft, a prominent and well-to-do citizen, who, like his father before him, was a "cordwainer" and a deacon of the First Church, added to the family possessions by the purchase of twenty-seven acres of land on Parker Hill of Paul Dudley in 1722. The smaller of the two large elms still standing in front of the house was planted by the deacon, who in his old age and blindness was in the habit of feeling them to ascertain their growth. The larger was a good-sized tree when the house was built. Here Deacon Craft died Sept. 1, 1791, aged eighty-six.

The deacon's grandson, Major Ebenezer Crafts, inherited all his land on both sides the Brookline Road, stretching back northerly from the old house to Muddy River and including the northwestern slope and the summit of Parker Hill, extending nearly to Heath Street, and on Muddy River westerly. The hill had a fine large peach orchard on the summit,

and orchards on its sides. The large mansion, admirably located on the northerly slope of the hill, and nearly opposite the old house, was built by him at the time of his marriage in 1806. It was designed by Peter Banner, an English architect, also the designer of Park Street Church, Boston, and was greatly admired for its classic style, its fine proportions, its rich and massive front elevation, its fluted Corinthian columns in pairs, and reaching to the height of two stories, and its general purity of style. The interior was also elaborately finished and profusely ornamented, but was still tasteful and classic. Major Crafts lived here forty years, when he sold the house and the hill east of Heath Street, and moved back to the old house in which he was born, and where he died in 1864, at the age of eighty-five. This mansion, in which, after its change of owners, Mr. George Howe lived for twenty years, is at present owned by T. Quincy Browne.

The remainder of Major Crafts's estate, including the modern house built in 1846, a few rods easterly of the old homestead, is now in the possession of William A. Crafts, who occupies it with his family. This last Ebenezer was the first of the family to change the ancient name from Craft to Crafts. His son, William A. Crafts, has been a member of the Legislature, and was clerk of the House in 1862–69, since when, he has been secretary of the State Board of Railroad Commissioners. He established the "Norfolk County Journal," now the "Home Journal," editing it in 1849–50, and has published several books, the best of which, "Pioneers in the Settlement of America," appeared in 1877. To his son William F. Crafts, who has made extensive collections for a history of this family, the author is indebted for materials made use of in preparing the present notice.

Among those of Griffin Craft's descendants who have attained distinction are Col. Thomas Crafts, prominent in the Revolutionary annals of Boston; Col. Ebenezer Crafts, a cavalry officer of the war for independence, founder of Crafts-

bury, Vt.; his son, Samuel C. Crafts, judge, United States senator, and governor of that State; and William Crafts, a celebrated orator, lawyer, and man of letters, of Charleston, S. C. Its Roxbury alliances are numerous, and include the well-known names of Griggs, Heath, Gore, Williams, Seaver, Ruggles, and Weld.

The Mill-dam, or Western Avenue, the first of the artificial roads connecting the peninsula of Boston with the mainland, and the greatest undertaking Boston had up to that time ever engaged in, is one and a half miles in length, and was built by the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation, chartered June 14, 1814. Uriah Cotting, its principal projector, did not live to see its completion, nor did he, with all his sagacity, foresee that it was the first step towards converting the Back Bay into *terra firma*. This work, for which for the first time Irish laborers were expressly imported into the country, was begun in 1818, and the stone used was principally taken from the Parker Hill quarry. It was opened July 2, 1821, with a public parade, the opening of another avenue to Boston being considered a great event. A cavalcade of citizens, Gen. William H. Sumner acting as chief marshal, crossed from the Roxbury shore, and were received by the inhabitants on the Boston side.

The whole territory flowed in consequence of the construction of this dam had formerly been valuable only for a trifling quantity of salt grass, and could have been purchased for a few hundred dollars. It was supposed that an immense water power could be thus obtained of almost fabulous value, and that all kinds of manufacturing and mechanical business would be established and carried on there by its means, and that thus the individual owners of the land flowed, and of the surrounding region, would be enriched and benefited. When brought to a practical test, it was discovered that an egregious error had been made in calculating the amount of the water power, and that the small result obtained was out of all pro-

portion to its cost and of little value. Meanwhile, grist-mills and iron works had been erected, machine shops, manufactories, and rope-walks had been built, and the various dams applied to different economical purposes; but many men of substance were, owing to this miscalculation, made bankrupt. All the plans devised to give value to the property failed until in 1859 the Boston Water Power Company, by legislative enactment, obtained leave to convert it into dry land. Within a few years, Beacon Street has extended itself over the Mill-dam, which is now lined with handsome dwellings, and a beautiful boulevard has taken the place of the former dusty and unattractive highway.

Punch-Bowl Village in Brookline and the part of Roxbury adjacent, including Parker Hill and Heath Street, was once known as "Roxbury Precinct." In this area were the homesteads of Crafts, Heath, Griggs, Wyman, Downer, and Brewer, some of whom had lands in both Roxbury and Brookline. The old boundary line was a small brook that ran into Muddy River, then the river itself, east to the channel. Pearl Street now marks the ancient northeastern limit of Roxbury, and the old stone post that once stood on its southeast corner is now erected on the other side, a little below. About half of Punch-Bowl Village, lying between the brook, which was the old boundary, and Muddy River, was annexed to Brookline in 1844.

In the rear of the gas works, at the corner of Brookline Avenue, stood an old house, which after many years' neglect was blown down, probably by the great gale of September, 1816. This, with all the land adjoining on both sides of Muddy River, was formerly the property of the Griggs family, early settlers in Roxbury. George Griggs, of Launden, Buckinghamshire, England, came over in the "Hopewell" with Alyce, his wife, and five children, in 1635. Dr. George Griggs, early in the last century, built the old house now for many years a tenement house, and known sometimes as the

"Tontine," but usually called the "Long House." The west half, with the ornamented portico over the front door, was afterwards added by Dr. Downer. Dr. Griggs's daughter Mary, who was very beautiful and quite an heiress, married, in opposition to her parents' wishes, Capt. William Wyman, with whom she lived most unhappily. The house and land now occupied by the gas company, with much other real estate in the vicinity, was long known as the Wyman property. It was by marriage with the daughter of Capt. Wyman that Dr. Downer became connected with the family and its possessions. After the former's death, the old house was kept as a tavern for several years, with the sign of the punch-bowl, but it had little patronage, and was soon given up. The houses of Capt. Wyman and Dr. Downer both originally set back farther from the street than at present, as the widenings that have taken place from time to time have cut off the yards. The Downer or "Long House" had a broad, green yard shaded by tall buttonwoods and two Lombardy poplars, while between the two houses stood a beautiful elm.

Dr. Downer, who was active in town affairs, as appears by the Roxbury records, and who was the grandfather of Samuel Downer, Esq., of Boston, left his house early on the morning of the battle of Lexington, and repairing to the front, soon came in sight of the retreating Britons, and suddenly encountered one of their flankers, who had stopped to pillage a house. Both levelled their guns at the same instant, and both missed. Closing in deadly struggle, they crossed bayonets, but Downer soon found he was no match for his adversary in the dexterous use of that weapon. The main body was every moment coming nearer. Gathering himself for a desperate effort, Downer, with incredible quickness, reversed his firelock, and dealt his foe a terrific stroke with the but, which brought him to the ground. The blow, which had shattered the breech of his gun, only disabled his enemy, and he finished him with eight inches of cold steel; then possess-

ing himself of the soldier's arms as the spoil of victory, he hastily withdrew. When the battle was over he found his forehead had been grazed by a musket-ball.

He was subsequently a surgeon on board the privateer sloop "Yankee," and was taken prisoner and carried to England, whence he escaped to France. On the passage home he had again the ill luck to be captured, and was severely wounded. After a long confinement in Portsea prison, where he and his companions were cruelly treated, he escaped by excavating under the wall and street adjacent, was aided by friends, and after three years' absence made his way to Boston. Dr. Downer afterwards served as surgeon-general of the Penobscot expedition, that most melancholy of failures. He was a skilful surgeon, though a hard, rough man.

That famous old hostelry, the Punch-Bowl Tavern, built early in the last century, stood just beyond Pearl Street, where Lyceum Hall now is. It was a two-story, hipped-roof house, and its enlargement from time to time, by the purchase and removal hither of old houses from Boston and vicinity, resulted in aggregating a curious medley of rooms of all sorts and sizes, and producing a new architectural order, appropriately named "conglomerate."

With its outbuildings, it occupied all the space on the street from the provision store of Brown Brothers to the brick blacksmith's shop of J. Madore. It was of a yellowish color, and had a seat running along the front under an overhanging projection of a part of the second story, where loungers congregated to discuss the news of the day. In front and near each end were large elm-trees. Under the westerly one stood a pump, which remained until recently. The ancient sign, suspended from a high red post, had for its design a huge bowl and ladle, overhung by a lemon-tree laden with fruit, some of which, having fallen to the ground, lay around the bowl. This sign, known throughout New England, gave its name to the tavern and village.

Before the days of railroads, there was a great amount of heavy teaming in this direction, and the Punch-Bowl, with its hospitable entertainmant, was a necessity of the times. It was a common thing for a row of teams to occupy the side of the street above and below the tavern, from what is now Harrison Place to the gas works, in a continuous line, while man and beast were fed and rested. Connected with it was a large dancing-hall, and it was a famous place of resort for gay parties from the surrounding towns, and even from Boston, and it was much frequented by the British officers before the Revolution. The Mill-dam and the bridges at last diverted so much of its business that, its occupation gone, the old Punch-Bowl, no longer a source of income to owner or lessee, was torn down about 1833.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE HIGHLANDS.

The Dedham Turnpike. — Auchmuty House. — Gov. Sumner. — The Fellowes Athenæum — Bartlett Street. — Noah Perrin. — Lambert. — Roxbury Charitable Society. — Norfolk House. — Ruggles Homestead. — Eliot Church. — Octagon Hall. — Chandler. — Dane. — Mears. — Maccarty Farm. — Old Forts. — Standpipe.

IN 1803 the Norfolk and Bristol Turnpike, from Boston to Pawtucket, known later as the Dedham Turnpike, was incorporated. Its course in Roxbury was: —

"From Dedham Court House to a high rock east of Widow Mary Draper's, thence near and by the house of John Davis, deceased; also near and by Chenery's wheelwright's shop; also near and by the barn of Thomas Weld through land of Capt. Joseph Williams; south of his dwelling-house to the end of Mears Lane, so called, near the house of the late Gov. Sumner; thence to the southerly side of the pavement near to the brick schoolhouse."

Before this road was built an irregular cart-path, known as the "way to Maccarty's farm," "the highway from Roxbury town street to John Watson's," and also as "the highway to the orchard of William Tay, and so to Gamblin's End," furnished a means of communication between the eastern and western portions of the town, to the east of the old Dedham Road, now Centre Street. The course of this path from "Eliot's Corner" was east of the present road, which it crossed at Oakland Street, then following the line of Thornton to Ellis Street, passing to the west of the Ellis (formerly the Maccarty) mansion, east of the line of Hawthorne Street, across Marcella towards Amory Street, and then following

the direction of School Street, until just beyond Capt. Joseph Williams's, now Mrs. Adams's, it diverged to the south and there struck what is now known as Forest Hill Street, formerly Back Street, and still earlier Rocky Swamp Lane.

On our left as we follow the old turnpike, we have the estate originally Isaac Morrill's, and his son-in-law, Tobias Davis's, owned at the beginning of the last century by the Stevens family, a portion of which was afterwards the property of the elder Judge Auchmuty. It included much of the tract bounded by Dudley, Warren, St. James, and Washington Streets. A part of Morrill's estate, called "The Fox-holes," containing twenty-six acres "upon Abraham Newell and Edward Bugby south; a rocky highway west; Pine Hill, north; and a highway leading to Great Lotts, east," seems identical with the territory on both sides of Circuit Street, embracing the "Tommy's Rock" region.

The fine old mansion, a relic of colonial times, now standing on Washington Street at the corner of Cliff, was built about 1761 by the younger Judge Auchmuty, who resided here until the breaking out of the Revolution in 1775. Confiscated as the property of a Tory by the act of April 13, 1779, it, together with seven acres of land adjoining, was purchased of the State by Increase Sumner, afterwards governor of Massachusetts, who resided here until his death. It is now owned and occupied by Mr. Charles F. Bradford. In appearance it is not unlike many of the better class of residences belonging to the later colonial period, and it has undergone few alterations. It is some distance from the street, and the broad, well-worn pavement by which it is approached prepares you for the solid, substantial old house itself. The grounds are shaded by handsome trees, and the house and its surroundings are so suggestive of taste and comfort that the visitor cannot help feeling some touch of pity for the loyal owner, who was compelled, almost without warning, to abandon so pleasant a home. On the right as you enter is the spacious

room formerly used as the dining-hall; in the room opposite were held, in the autumn of 1817, during Mr. Beza Tucker's occupancy of the premises, a series of religious meetings that resulted in the formation of the First Baptist Society, now worshipping in the church on Dudley Street.

Here, as a convenient halting-place between the Province House and the governor's country seat at Jamaica Plain and the lieutenant-governor's residence at Milton, met the secret conclave of crown officers who plotted the overthrow of colonial liberty. Here, Bernard, Hutchinson, Auchmuty, Hallowell, Hulton, Burch, and Paxton discussed the proposed alterations in the charter and the bringing over of British soldiers to overawe the people. Hither Gov. Bernard summoned the council on account of the wonderful discovery of a tar-barrel in the beacon on Beacon Hill, which it was understood was to be fired as soon as the ships containing the British troops should make their appearance in the bay. "Matters now," so he wrote Lord Hillsboro, the English Secretary of State, "exceed all former exceedings," and he construed this occurrence as a great insult to himself. The tar-barrel question was debated here, "and," he continues, "it was resolved that the selectmen should be desired to take it down, but they would not do it." It must be admitted that the selectmen of Boston were a contumacious set, and that in the matter of tar-barrels and tea-chests they evinced an utter disregard of the governor's feelings.

AUCHMUTY HOUSE.

During the siege the officers of Col. Learned's regiment

were quartered here. A corn-house belonging to the estate, improved by some of that regiment as a shoemaker's shop, was removed, and did duty at Lamb's Dam Fort as a magazine. From the gambrel roof of the mansion, which is surmounted by a railing, the various encampments of the besieging forces on Meeting-House Hill and the vicinity were in full view, and the magnificent but exasperating spectacle of Charlestown in flames, on the day of Bunker's Hill, must have been distinctly visible. After the close of the siege the property was leased by the selectmen, who had charge of the confiscated estates, to Joseph Ruggles.

The younger Robert Auchmuty, a native of Boston, died in London, an exile from his native land, in November, 1788. His great natural parts and industry enabled him to dispense with a college education, and he became an eloquent and successful advocate, the associate at the bar of Otis, Thatcher, Gridley, Prat, Trowbridge, Quincy, and Adams. In conjunction with the two last named, he successfully defended Capt. Preston and the British soldiers on trial for participation in the affray known as the "Boston Massacre," his plea in this case being greatly admired. Appointed a judge in 1767, he continued upon the bench until 1776, when, the authority of the crown being no longer recognized, and being a zealous loyalist, he went to England, where he was for a time in very distressed circumstances. Some of his letters to persons in England were, with those of Hutchinson, sent to America by Franklin in 1773. The misrepresentation of their conduct and motives, which was thus laid bare, stimulated the people to a high pitch of resentment. John Adams thus disparages him in describing a meeting of the Boston bar about 1766: —

"Gridley told some stories, Auchmuty told more, and scolded and railed about the lowness of the fees. This is A.'s commonplace topic. He is employed in sessions and everywhere. The same dull, insipid way of arguing everywhere, — as many repetitions as a Pres-

byterian preacher in his prayer, — volubility, voluble repetition and repeated volubility, fluent reiteration and reiterating fluency, such *nauseous* eloquence always puts my patience to the torture. In what is this man conspicuous? In reasoning, in imagination, in painting, in the pathetic, or what? In confidence, in dogmatism, etc. His wit is flat, his humor is affected and dull. To have this man represented as the first at the bar is a libel upon it, a reproach and disgrace to it." And in another place he says, "Auchmuty maintains the air of reserve, design, and cunning."

There is spite or envy in this tirade, for in addressing a jury Auchmuty was, according to contemporary accounts, interesting and agreeable, and generally successful.

When appealed to by Hutchinson to say whether, if necessary, he would order the troops to fire upon a mob who were committing violence and refused to disperse, Auchmuty declared he would not, as the laws, not of this province but of England, now stood, and as the people in both were disposed, for he was sure of being brought to the bar as Justice Gillam was, and he would have less chance with a jury here than Gillam had in England. The latter had a short time before ordered the soldiers to fire on a mob at Hexam, where forty persons were killed.

Another distinguished occupant of this mansion was Increase Sumner, a native of Roxbury, whose birthplace we have already visited. The future governor attended the Roxbury grammar school, then kept by William Cushing, afterwards a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and by his successor, Joseph Warren, the distinguished patriot, and himself took charge of that institution after his graduation at Harvard College, in 1767. While thus engaged he studied law, which he subsequently practised in his native town. Intelligent and trustworthy, his business soon became lucrative, and besides filling numerous town offices he was successively chosen to the responsible posts of representative, senator, judge, and finally, governor of the Commonwealth.

In all these positions he exhibited sterling qualities and gained honorable distinction.

Judge Sumner was a member of the State Convention which in 1789 ratified the Federal Constitution, in which body he made several impressive speeches. The unsettled condition of affairs, and the doubts in the minds of thoughtful and intelligent men as to the probable fate of this instrument, are

GOV. SUMNER.

exhibited in a conversation between the judge at his own gate, in Roxbury, where he was dealing with a marketman, and Fisher Ames, who, on his way from Dedham, frequently stopped to have a chat with the judge: —

"'What's the news in Boston this morning, judge?' said he. Just then Mr. Mears, a neighbor, and attached to the Tory party, as he walked by the cart inquired of the judge what he gave a pound for butter, who answered, 'Ninepence.' 'Ninepence a pound for butter! Ninepence a pound for butter! It did not use to be so in King George's day. Ninepence for sixpence! This is your new gov-

ernment, is it? Ninepence a pound for butter! It won't last'; and repeating his words, 'Ninepence a pound,' jogged on and left the judge and Mr. Ames together. The latter observed, 'I am somewhat of that man's mind. It won't last. What do you think of it, judge? I say it won't last, at least I fear it won't.' The judge, who always saw the bright side of things, answered, 'I do not fear it. The machinery is complex, but it is new. Let us see how it works, let us give it a fair trial, Mr. Ames.'

"Some time afterwards Mr. Ames stopped again, and the following conversation occurred: 'Well, judge, what do you think of it now?' 'Why, has anything taken place?' 'Have you not heard of the doings of the Roxbury town meeting yesterday? It is in the morning papers.' 'I have not seen the papers,' said the judge. 'What did they do?' 'It is your own town, and surely you don't want a Dedham man to tell you what was done in a Roxbury town meeting. You will be sorry to learn, judge, that your Constitution has given way in the point of your greatest security. After a long debate, not unpremeditatedly, the town decided that a man has an estate of the value of £60 if he is able to earn that sum within the year.' 'What,' answered the judge, 'without having a freehold estate, or having in possession personal property of that value?' 'No property at all as I understand it, judge. A carpenter who owned his tools, but nothing else, and who was able to work for his living, they admitted to vote for a representative to the General Court, and Gen. Heath led the majority. You see how it works. What do you think of it now, judge?' 'Why,' says the judge, 'that construction never entered into any man's mind. It amounts almost to universal suffrage. It never will prevail, but if it does, brother Ames, I must say that my confidence is very much diminished.'"

Elected governor in April, 1797, Sumner was qualified on the 2d of June following. A cavalcade of between two hundred and three hundred citizens of Boston, Roxbury, and adjacent towns, accompanied by several distinguished gentlemen, including Generals Lincoln and Knox, in carriages, escorted a long procession from Roxbury to the State House, from the eastern balcony of which, in State Street, he was proclaimed governor, as was then the custom. The new State House was first occupied in the following year. At this time he was

in the vigor of life, and in this respect formed a contrast to his immediate predecessors. Hancock was so infirm from gout that his servants made an arm-chair and carried him from his carriage up the stairs to the council chamber when he met the Legislature, and Adams was stricken in years and somewhat bent, as was apparent when he walked in the State processions. But when his successor marched at the head of the legislative body on its return from hearing the election sermon at the Old South, as he passed in at the door of the old State House, where an old apple-woman sat, she was heard to exclaim, "Thank God we have got a governor that can walk, at last!" The governor was on his death-bed when, upon his last re-election, it became necessary to administer the official oath. This impressive scene, which has been described by one of the actors in it, took place in the east upper room, now used as the library. Gov. Sumner died on the 7th of June, 1799, and was buried in the Granary Burying-Ground, in Boston, near the Athenæum, where stands a monument to his memory. The funeral service was first performed at his house, and a "most excellent and pathetic prayer" was offered by Rev. Dr. Porter. John Adams, then President, attended the funeral, and was announced as he entered the house by Sheriff Cutler, of Norfolk. On the day of the funeral, said at the time to have been the most solemn and imposing ever witnessed in the State, business was suspended, the shops were closed, and the expression of sorrow and mourning was everywhere visible.

In person, Sumner was attractive and commanding, his stature elevated and well proportioned. Polite and unassuming, his manners were yet dignified and manly. He was hospitable, and could afford a manner of living suited to his generous and social qualities and his elevated position. He drove a coach and four on all public occasions, and liberally entertained all public characters and strangers of distinction. A substantial, practical farmer, he attended personally to the

cultivation of the soil, and set an example of good husbandry to his neighbors.

The governor's widow passed the whole of her married life here, until her removal to Boston in 1806. Opposite the mansion was an estate of fourteen acres, which his father-in-law, Mr. Hyslop, purchased for him, and in the cultivation of which, after he had ploughed down the breastworks thrown up during the siege, and made it an open field, he took great pleasure. This estate was recovered of his heirs by Joseph Dudley, as tenant in tail, by suit in 1806. The following reminiscence was furnished by Mr. Moses Williams to Gen. William H. Sumner, the governor's son: —

"The first school I attended was Ma'am Johnson's. Her house was next to your father's, and as I passed his premises in going to school I frequently saw him, with his huge cocked hat and blue cloak trimmed with scarlet velvet, walking for exercise in his beautiful front yard, always as neat as a good wife's parlor floor and shaded by beautiful walnut-trees. One day, seeing your father thus walking, and noticing that a few ripe walnuts had fallen, I walked into the yard and asked if he would give them to me. He did not know me, but he gave his permission with so kind a reply, that though nearly sixty years have passed, and I was then only five or six years old, I have never forgotten it."

A large house, and one and a half acres of land adjoining the Auchmuty estate, were the property and residence, before the Revolution, of Capt. Nathaniel Williams. He commanded a Roxbury company at the siege of Louisburg, and was the son of John and Dorothy (Brewer) Williams and great-grandson of Robert, the emigrant.

At the right, as you enter Bartlett Street, is the house in which Caleb Fellowes, founder of the Fellowes Athenæum, now the Roxbury branch of the Boston Public Library, lived for many years, and which, after 1836, was the home of Dr. Henry Bartlett. Caleb, son of Cornelius Fellowes, was a native of Gloucester, Mass., his mother being Sarah Wil-

liams, of Roxbury. In his youth he followed the sea, but acquiring by trade a competency in Calcutta, he settled in Roxbury in 1816, and at his decease, on Nov. 8, 1852, left a large part of his accumulations for the founding of the library which bears his name.

Mr. Fellowes's last years were passed in Philadelphia, and it was by the advice of a friend with whom he had lived in Roxbury in the most intimate relations, Supply Clapp Thwing, whose long and beneficent earthly career has but recently terminated, that he resolved upon this step. "My friend," said Mr. Thwing, "your mother was born in Roxbury, and there, you say yourself, you passed some of the happiest years of your life. We want an Athenæum, and you could not leave your property, outside of your own family, to a better object." The appeal was successful, but the disinterestedness of the advice is seen in the fact that a large part of the sum thus appropriated was, by Mr. Fellowes's first will, bequeathed to Mr. Thwing, and that it was at his urgent request, when this became known to him, that his friend cancelled the legacy and increased by so much his public bequest.

By the terms of the will, forty thousand dollars were to be laid out for a suitable lot of ground within half a mile of Rev. Mr. Putnam's meeting-house, and in erecting thereon an edifice similar in plan to the Philadelphia Athenæum; the residue to be safely invested, and the income to be devoted to the purchase of books and periodicals. In 1866 the Fellowes Athenæum was incorporated, and in 1872, the fund then amounting to fifty-four thousand dollars, the building on Millmont Street was begun. It was formally dedicated on July 9, and opened for public use on July 16, 1873.

Bartlett Street was in 1760 given to the town by Isaac Winslow, Thomas Dudley, and Noah Perrin. It led from the highway near the meeting-house, by Mr. Noah Perrin's, into the town way leading to Maccarty's farm. Long known as Perrin's Lane, it formed the southwestern boundary of

the Dudley estate, and now connects Dudley and Washington Streets. It formerly opened opposite the Auchmuty house, and its lower easterly side was all a quagmire. Back of Perrin's house, between the estates of Messrs. Osgood and Blanchard, is an elevation known as Pigeon Hill.

Noah Perrin, who was for many years treasurer of the town, lived in a house, torn down a few years since, in which his son-in-law, Stephen, son of Col. Joseph Williams, long resided. It was one of the oldest houses then remaining in the town, and may have been the house of Chandler or Dane, early settlers in Roxbury. It bore honorable scars of Revolutionary service in the shape of shot-holes from the British cannon, and was made use of as a barrack. The first Noah Perrin, who was by trade a tailor, bought in 1725, of Benjamin Thompson's widow, the lot at the southerly corner of the street. He died here in 1788, leaving to his son-in-law Williams his dwelling-house, tan-yard, bark-house, and three acres of land. This Benjamin Thompson is the same whose tombstone in the old burying-ground indicates the final resting-place of the "learned schoolmaster and physician and y^e^ renowned poet of New England." He taught the old grammar school from 1700 to 1703. A two-story house now occupies the site of the old building.

Just beyond is the residence of Dr. John Bartlett, a skilful physician and a philanthropic man. It is of three stories, and faces the Dudley School for Girls. This house was built for Noah Perrin Williams by Stephen, his father, who resided here until his decease in 1811, after which it was the home of the Doctor. In Hawthorne Cottage, opposite, the residence of the Dearborn family, is a portrait of the first Gen. Dearborn, an excellent specimen of Stuart's best manner, and another of his son, Gen. H. A. S. Dearborn, when quite a young man. Many interesting mementos of both these distinguished men are here carefully preserved. The manuscript memoirs and other writings of the latter, in forty-five quarto

volumes, also among the family possessions, attest the remarkable industry and versatility of the second Gen. Dearborn, and are doubtless storehouses of valuable information upon a great variety of subjects.

Beyond is the stone building, bought in 1829 by William H. Spear of the proprietors of "The Roxbury Female School," and purchased of Spear, who occupied it awhile for the same purpose, by the town of Roxbury in April, 1840, now known as the Roxbury High School.

On the corner of Blanchard Street is the mansion built by Major John Jones Spooner, soon after the close of the Revolution, and subsequently the property of Capt. William Lambert, a merchant of Boston. A street and avenue traverse Lambert's thirteen-acre lot, and bear his name. Major Spooner, who was the first commander of the Roxbury Artillery, in 1784, and who graduated at Harvard College in 1775, married the only daughter of Gen. Heath, went to Hampton, Va., in 1789, and died there in 1799.

Lambert, who was a native of Boston, died here in 1823, at the age of eighty. While engaged in business in Halifax in 1775–78, he acted as agent for the American prisoners confined there, supplying their necessary wants. Suspected of too much friendliness to the rebel cause, he was obliged to hastily abandon his business and property there, and escaping to Boston, again established himself in that town and became a successful merchant. In 1788 he came to Roxbury, hiring at one hundred and twenty dollars per annum the estate he purchased in December of that year, and which he says he found "a complete wilderness." By many years of labor in removing all the stone walls, digging and blasting rocks for a road leading up to the hill, uprooting barberry and other bushes, indigo-roots, etc., he at length brought it into a highly attractive condition. In 1794 the west dwelling-house, on the hill, the site of Mr. Hollingsworth's residence, was finished with a composition roof, the first seen in New England,

but which Mr. Lambert had often seen in Halifax. Mrs. Blanchard, a daughter of Mr. Lambert, resides on the estate with her son, Mr. William Blanchard.

The Roxbury Charitable Society, the oldest institution of the kind in the town, originated at a meeting held at Mr. Lambert's in September, 1794, principally from members of the Roxbury Fire Society. It soon numbered seventy-three members, among them many of the most influential citizens of the town, and was incorporated in 1799. Judge John Lowell was its first president. Among its prominent promoters were Gov. Sumner, Hon. John Lowell, Hon. John Read, William Lambert, Rev. Dr. Porter, Hon. Sherman Leland, and Charles Davis. By the failure of the Norfolk Bank, the funds of the society were greatly reduced and its usefulness seriously impaired, but in 1850 it was revived, and has ever since been an active and beneficent association. Imposing ceremonies in times past attended its anniversaries, such as a meeting at the Town House, a procession with military escort, and a discourse at the First Church, at which a collection in aid of its funds was usually taken. Among the anniversary orators were Judge Lowell, Rev. Horace Holley, Edward Everett, Rev. Henry Ware, Dr. John Bartlett, and Rev. E. D. Griffin. Deacon William Davis, at that time its secretary, thus describes the anniversary of 1819 : —

"The procession was then formed at the Town House, and proceeded down Dudley Street, passing straight on until it came to the street which leads to the main street between the stores of Mr. Chenery Clark and Elijah Lewis; thence up the main street to the Rev. Dr. Porter's meeting-house. The escort duty was performed by the Norfolk Guards, Capt. Samuel Doggett. Select music was performed at the meeting-house by a number of gentlemen, assisted by the band attached to the escort. The address of the Rev. John Pierpont was an independent production, delivered with much energy, and in his best style of oratory."

The cottage on the left as we approach the Norfolk House, now the residence of Dr. Benjamin E. Cotting, was a century

ago the dwelling of Simeon Pratt, and is one of the half-dozen houses of that period still remaining in the vicinity. In it died Gen. John Greaton, only a few months after his return home at the close of the war of the Revolution, a victim to its hardships and exposure. Pratt had a tannery where the stone building now stands, on Eliot Square, beyond the old grocery store.

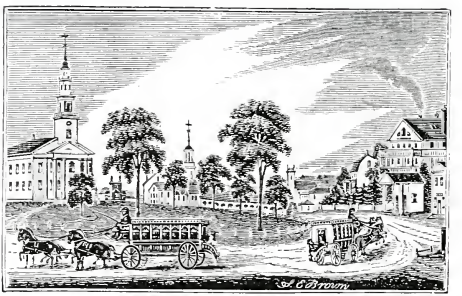
On the south side of Bartlett Street, near Lambert, was situated George Alcock's homestead of five acres, having Thomas Dudley on the north, John Dane on the south, a highway on the east, and the meeting-house common on the west. This estate afterwards belonged to the heirs of Joshua Lamb, who married Mary Alcock. The church record says of George Alcock: —

"He was with the first company in 1630; he left his only son in England; his wife dyed soon after he came to this land. When the people of Rocksborough joyned to the church at Dorchester (until such time as God should give them opportunity to be a church among themselves) he was by the church chosen to be a Deakon especially to regard the brethren at Rocksborough. And after he adjoyned himself to this church at Roxborough, he was ordained a Deakon of this church. He made two voyages to England upon just calling thereunto, wherein he had much experience of Gods preservation and blessing. He brought over his son John, and also a wife, by whom he had his second son Samuel. He lived in a good and godly sort, and dyed in the end of the 10th month 1640, and left a good savor behind him, the poor of the church much bewailing his loss."

His first wife was a sister of Rev. Thomas Hooker. Deacon Alcock was a physician, and a member of the first General Court in 1634. His brother Thomas, of Dedham, a surveyor, died in 1657. John Alcock, son of Deacon George, also a physician, graduated at Harvard College in 1646, and died March 29, 1667, leaving issue by his wife Sarah, daughter of Richard Palsgrave. He had a valuable estate at Marlborough, and owned the whole of Block Island. To the

Church of Christ in Roxbury he left £3 by will, "to buy them a good wine-bowl." The family name, which has been changed to Alcott, is at present worthily represented by the philosopher, A. Bronson Alcott, and his talented daughter, Louisa May Alcott, who, through her mother, also claims descent from the Roxbury families of Williams and May. Many of the descendants of Alcock are to be found in Wolcott, Conn.

Where the Norfolk House stands, lawyer Joseph Ruggles built himself a handsome residence in 1781. This gentle-



THE OLD NORFOLK HOUSE.

man, who was a nephew of Major Nathaniel Ruggles, married in 1778 Joanna, sister of Dr. Thomas Williams. After his decease it was the residence of Hon. David A. Simmons, who sold it to the Norfolk House Company in 1825. It was first opened as a public house in the following year, a large brick addition having been built, containing a hall for public assemblies, known at first as Highland Hall, subsequently as Norfolk Hall. This addition was in 1853 moved to the rear,

giving place to the present sightly structure, with which it is connected. The old mansion-house is now on Norfolk Street, doing duty as a tenement house. It was greatly enlarged at the time of its purchase by the hotel company. In the accompanying engraving the old Norfolk House and the Hourly Office are seen on the right.

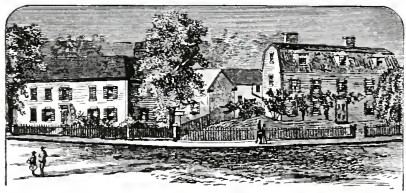
John Ruggles, shoemaker, with his wife and two children, came over in the "Hopewell" in 1635. He lived on the Brookline road near the Crafts place, and died in 1664, aged seventy-three. Eliot's record says, "He was a lively Christian, known to many of the Church in Old England, where they injoyed socially together"; and of his wife Barbara, who died in 1636, he says, "The power of the grace of Christ did much shine in her life and death."

Thomas, elder brother of John, came here in 1637. He and John Graves died in 1644. "These two," says Eliot, "brake the knot first of the Nazing Christians. I mean these first dyed of all y^e^ Christians y^t^ came from that town in England. Both Thomas and John were children of a godly father, Thomas being as well known as his brother." The homestead of Thomas and his descendants was on the south side of the First Church, and included the hill where the lower Roxbury fort stood. An old stone wall, the original boundary between the Ruggles and Williams estates, yet remains on what is now the estate of Mr. George A. Simmons. The property extended from Dudley Street beyond Cedar on the south, and from the Norfolk House to Centre Street on the west.

John Ruggles, the son of Thomas, came over in the "Hopewell" with his uncle John, and in 1658 married Abigail, daughter of Griffin Craft. Samuel, his brother, was many years selectman, representative, and captain of the Roxbury company, and was actively engaged in the overthrow of Gov. Andros in 1689. He kept, not far from where the Norfolk House stands, the "Flower de Luce" tavern, where in 1698

a meeting was held "to settle about the Muddy River people worshipping at their house." His son Samuel succeeded his father in the several offices named. Brigadier Timothy Ruggles, of Hardwick, a noted loyalist, was a grandson of this Samuel. His son Joseph, innholder, who died here in August, 1765, was the father of Capt. Joseph and Major Nathaniel Ruggles. This family, now nearly or quite extinct in Roxbury, formerly played no inconsiderable part in its history. For a century and a half it was rarely without a representative either in the General Court or the board of selectmen, holding some position of responsibilty or trust either in church or State. Capt. John Ruggles commanded a company from Roxbury in the Louisburg expedition in 1745.

At the corner of Eliot Square and Highland Street is the old house once the residence of Major Nathaniel Ruggles, who



RUGGLES HOMESTEAD AND TURNER HOUSE.

died in 1780. Old Dutch tiles still adorn the fireplace of the principal room, the building itself being quite ordinary. During the siege it furnished quarters for some American officers. Major Ruggles was a man of solid judgment and great benevolence, and filled many important public stations with conspicuous integrity and ability. He was especially serviceable to the cause of liberty by his attention to the wants of the soldiers of Roxbury. In September, 1772, he was commis-

sioned major of the Suffolk regiment. His daughter Martha became the wife of Rev. Dr. Porter.

Old residents of Roxbury will remember "Aunt Major," as his widow was called, and "Sister Nanny," who lived here many years, and who from this eligible post of observation kept themselves well informed of whatever was going on in the vicinity, especially among the young bloods. One day Mr. R——, who was quite a wag and fond of practical jokes, well knowing the old ladies' eagerness for news of a personal character, rode up in haste and beckoned them out, exclaiming, "Come quick! I'm in a great hurry; can't stop." Whereupon they hastened on tiptoe with expectation to the fence, only to be told by him that if they had no objection, he was going with a party to the Punch-Bowl Tavern to have a bird supper, smoke and drink, and perhaps play cards. "So," he continued, "knowing your anxiety about me, I thought I'd let you know." What Aunt Major said to the impudent fellow has not been recorded.

Kenilworth Street, a part of the Dudley estate, and so named from the celebrated seat of the Dudleys in England, forms the segment of a circle which, according to the original plan, embraced a corresponding half-circle on the north side of Dudley Street. Upon it stands the Eliot Congregational Church, an offshoot of the old First Church, which is also the parent of Emmanuel Church in Moreland Street and of the Walnut Avenue Religious Society. It was organized Sept. 18, 1834, at a meeting held for that purpose in Spear's school building on Bartlett Street. Until the present edifice was finished and dedicated on Nov. 25, 1835, services were held at the Town Hall, Rev. Jacob Abbott officiating. This gentleman was a prolific writer of books for children, the "Rollo Series" having been extremely popular with them. His brother, Rev. John S. C. Abbott, widely known by his excessively eulogistic biographies of the First and Second Napoleon, was then installed first pastor. On Jan. 13, 1841,

Mr. Abbott was dismissed, and was succeeded, on July 27, 1842, by Rev. Augustus C. Thompson, present pastor of the church. Rev. B. F. Hamilton was settled as junior pastor Nov. 9, 1871. The name of Dr. Nathaniel S. Prentiss stands first on the list of the founders of the Eliot Church, and four of the apostle's descendants have been connected with it. Where the church stands there was formerly quite an elevation.

In the stone building called "Octagon Hall," built by Capt. Nathaniel Dorr, on the corner of Kenilworth and Dudley Streets, now the office of the gas company, was established on May 10, 1826, the Norfolk Bank, the first institution of the kind in Roxbury. This, like many other similar enterprises, came to grief through mismanagement, and was short-lived. In 1834 the bank was robbed of a large sum of money, but the thieves, among whom was the notorious "Bristol Bill," were all successfully tracked and punished. The money was found secreted near Grove Hall. Two groups of statuary, representing "Charity," that once ornamented the old Boston Almshouse, were for a time transferred to the front of this building. The lack of appropriateness of this emblem came at length to be generally recognized, possibly in consequence of the enhanced price of gas, and it was removed to the grounds of Mr. James Guild, its present location.

Two centuries ago, John, son of William Chandler, owned ten acres of land at what is now the southerly corner of Bartlett and Washington Streets, and which included the homestead and residence of the family. John Dane, who in 1643 married William Chandler's widow, afterwards owned and occupied a part of this estate, now Guild's, and on which the brick stable of the Metropolitan Railroad Company stands. In 1649 the General Court settled the house and land that was William Chandler's upon John Dane, "y^e^ said Dayn having paid more debts of Chandler's than y^e^ house and land was worth, and also brot up y^e^ children of Chandler which

have been chargeable to him." Turning to Eliot's record we find that —

"William Chandler came to New England about 1637. He brought four small children, Thomas, Hanna, John, William. Sarah was born here. He lived a very religious and godly life among us and fell into a consumption to which he had been long inclined. He lay neare a yeare sick, in all which time his faith, patience, godlynesse, and contention so shined that God was much glorified in him. He was a man of weake parts but excellent faith and holyness; he was poore, but God so opened the hearts of his naybors to him y^t he never wanted y^t which was (at least in his esteem) very plentiful and comfortable to him. He dyed Jan. 26, 1641-2, and left a sweet memory and savor behind him."

John, son of the John Dane above mentioned, ancestor of Hon. Nathan Dane, founder of the Dane professorship at Harvard, and whose testimony as to the excellence of the water of Smelt Brook is given on a previous page, has among other "Remarkable Providences" left on record the way and manner of his coming to New England. John's parents were "serious pepell." who attended Rev. John Norton's preaching. He himself was brought up to the tailor's trade at the shop-board of his father, who as he tells us, on one occasion, "toke a stick and basted me for attending a dancing school." Dane says: —

"My father and mother showed themselves unwilling. I sat close by a tabell where there lay a bibell. I hastily toke up the bybell and tould my father if where I opened the bibell thare I met with anie thing eyther to incuredg or discouredg that should settel me. I oping of it, not knowing no more than the child in the womb, the first I cast my eys on was, 'Come out from among them, touch no unclene thing, and I will be your God and you shall be my pepell.' My father and mother never more oposed me, but furdered me in the thing, and hasted after me as sone as they could."

Next came the homestead of John Watson, afterwards Peter Gardner's, containing twelve acres, subsequently a part of the Mears estate, which extended from Bartlett nearly to

Cedar Street. Between Bartlett and Guild Streets, in the rear of the new stable of the Metropolitan Railway Company, is the old house in which James Mears, Jr., lived. When he moved into it from the house of his grandfather, on Washington Street, near Eustis, tradition says, he was considered insane to think of going into such an "out of the way lonely wilderness." Mr. Samuel Guild, the father of Mr. James Guild, who now owns and occupies the estate formerly Mears's, carried on the Mears tannery, and having in 1806 married Sarah, his only daughter, inherited a portion of his father-in-law's property which was valuable, and which included the Guild Row estate. Here Mr. Guild resided fifty-five years, and until his death. Four generations of the Mears family were tanners. The sightly mansion and grounds of Mr. James Guild are on the southerly corner of Washington and Guild Streets.

Edward Porter and Abraham Newell, who came to Roxbury in 1634 and in 1636 respectively, were the original proprietors of the homesteads and orchards afterwards known as the "Maccarty Farm." This tract contained sixty acres, and lay between Hawthorne Street and Walnut Avenue, on both sides of Washington Street, extending from Cedar on the north to Marcella Street on the south. The homestead of Palsgrave Alcock, grandson of George and son of Dr. John Alcock, also included in the Maccarty farm, stood near the corner of Ellis and Hawthorne Streets, on the site of the Ellis mansion. The present house, while retaining some of its original features, has been greatly altered since it was the home of Florence Maccarty, who bought it in 1710. He was a provision dealer and contractor in Boston, and in 1693 bought land here, subsequently adding to it other tracts for the purposes of a stock farm.

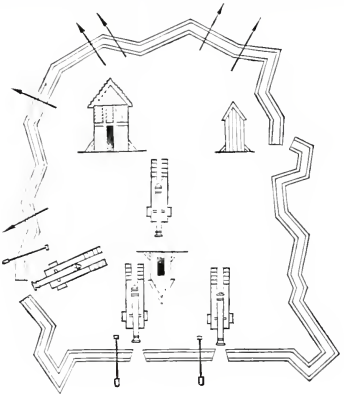
Cedar Street extends through what was once known as "Baker's Valley," a very forbidding district, but now filled with handsome dwellings and attractive grounds. In 1851

Deacon Alvah Kittredge gave to the town the piece of land on the north side of the street known as "Cedar Square." Near the northeast corner of Cedar and Highland Streets, between the lands of Alcock, Newell, and Ruggles, lay an estate of eleven and a half acres belonging, in 1654, to John Pierpont, which "he enjoyeth," says the record of houses and lands, "as heir to John Stow, his father-in-law, lately deceased." This John Stow was probably the first teacher of the grammar school.

Highland Street was laid out in 1826 through the Ruggles and Joseph Williams estates. Many fine residences adorn it, and it is or has been the home of many eminent citizens. William Lloyd Garrison, Edward Everett Hale, and Samuel C. Cobb are yet resident here, and among its former inhabitants may be named Rev. George Putnam, Supply C. Thwing, Benjamin F. Copeland, David A. Simmons, and Samuel H. Walley. The recent decease of Rev. Dr. Putnam has bereft the community of one of its most valued leaders of public opinion; a man of eminent wisdom and judgment as a counsellor, and a most thoughtful, interesting, and eloquent preacher. He was pastor of the First Church for nearly half a century, and was for more than twenty years a Fellow of Harvard College. He rendered efficient service also to the schools of Roxbury, having long been a trustee of the Latin School, and was one of the original trustees of the Fellowes Athenæum. He also represented Roxbury in the State Legislature and in the State Constitutional Convention.

Some slight traces of the first regular work constructed by the Americans when they nearly circumvallated Boston may yet be seen upon the estate of Mr. Nathaniel J. Bradlee, at the corner of Highland and Cedar Streets, in the rear of his residence, and on which stands his observatory. This estate was long known as Dr. Porter's cow pasture, the Doctor having inherited it through his wife, who was a daughter of Major Nathaniel Ruggles. The work was irregular in its

outlines, following the natural configuration of the rock, except on its northern side; its eastern base now forms a terrace. It extended about four hundred feet from north to south, with an average width of about two hundred and fifty feet. The northeast and southwest sides of the rock were



PLAN OF ROXBURY FORT.

very steep. The walls of the fort were twelve feet thick and five feet high, and each angle was bastioned. The main gate or entrance was on the side opposite the almshouse. Two heavy cannon were mounted here on the evening of June 24, and on July 1, a twenty-four-pounder also, which, says Heath, "was fired twice; the second shot grazed the enemy's parapet, then struck in the parade, and occasioned some

confusion." By its elevation, this fort completely commanded the avenue to Boston over the Neck.

In 1824 this "lower fort," so called to distinguish it from the one built to the south of it, was thus described: "Its interior occupies about two acres of ground, and as the hill is bare of soil the places may still be seen where the earth was taken to form the ramparts. This fortification has not been at all injured, and the embrasures may still be noticed where the cannon were placed which fired upon the advanced lines of the enemy." The sketch here presented is taken from an enlarged plan of the fort, copied for Mr. Augustus Parker, of Roxbury, from an engraving on a powder-horn, once the property of Josiah Benton, one of its garrison. It is dated "Oct. 1775," and exhibits a number of spears leaning against the inner sides of the parapet. Gen. Ward's opinion that the redoubt at Bunker's Hill might have been held if a sufficient number of these weapons had been at hand, caused the Provincial Congress to provide them, and on July 1, two hundred and fifteen were delivered to Gen. Thomas. They were kept well greased to prevent their being effectually grasped by the enemy, but were soon discarded. Here are the instructions respecting them: "Every colonel or commanding officer of a regiment shall appoint thirty men that are active, bold, and resolute to use the spears in defence of the lines instead of guns; to form in the centre of the rear of the regiment, to stand ready to push the enemy off the breastwork if they should attempt to get over the parapet into the lines. Let those be appointed that are the worst off for arms and those that have none at all, provided their size, strength, and activity are agreeable to the purpose of their appointment. To be commanded by a subaltern and sergeant."

A former owner of the estate, Mr. Alvah Kittredge, found on building the dwelling-house in 1836 that the breastwork greatly obstructed its light on the west side, and had it re-

moved. He related the following incident connected with the siege: —

"Before the work was taken away, Mr. Aaron Willard, the well-known clock-maker, then very aged, visited me, and told me that when he was sixteen years old he came to Roxbury as fifer of a company of minute-men from Grafton, his native town, and that they with many others were set at work immediately to throw up the redoubt here. After a hard day's work they threw themselves upon the ground behind it and slept soundly, wrapped in their blankets. Just as the sun rose next morning, they were roused from their slumbers by a twenty-four-pound shot, which ploughed through the breastwork, and scattering the soil on him and others finally buried itself in the earth. Without waiting for further compliments of the same nature, they speedily withdrew, standing not upon the order of their going, and regardless of bruises, tumbled over each other in their hasty descent of the steep rock at its rear. He pointed out the spot where he judged the ball must have lodged, and there it was found when I afterwards took the work down. This interesting relic, slightly corroded by time and rust, is preserved by Mr. Kittredge's family."

The earliest reference to this fort occurs in a letter from Henry Knox, afterward Gen. Knox, to his wife, dated "Roxbury (Lemuel Childs's), July 6, 1775. Yesterday as I was going to Cambridge, I met the generals [Washington and Lee], who begged me to return to Roxbury, which I did. When they had viewed the works they expressed the greatest pleasure and surprise at their situation and apparent utility, to say nothing of the plan, which did not escape their praise." The young engineer may well be pardoned for taking pride in his first military effort, and in receiving the praise of Washington. Less than three weeks had elapsed since he was a fugitive from Boston, since when he had been actively employed in planning and executing works for the besieging forces. Washington wrote to the President of Congress on July 10, that Gen. Thomas had thrown up a strong work on the hill about two hundred yards above the meeting-house, which, with the brokenness of the ground, had made that pass very secure.

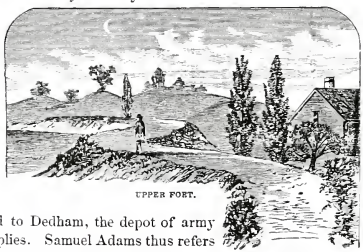
The semi-centennial anniversary of the Declaration of Independence was everywhere celebrated with great *éclat*. At Roxbury it was duly honored by an oration from Hon. Timothy Walker, a dinner at the Town House Hall, and in the evening by a fine display of fire-works at the old fort.

COCHITTATE STAND-PIPE.

Regarded as classic ground, this was long the chosen spot for salutes of honor, alike over the solemn obsequies of Washington and the joyous welcome of Lafayette.

Fort Avenue, from Highland to Centre Street, takes us to another patriot stronghold, whence the provincial soldiers hurled defiance at the royal army in Boston. Here, upon the highest land in East Roxbury, except Parker Hill, the

Cochituate Stand-pipe rears aloft its circular white tower with its graceful outline, a conspicuous and not unpleasing object to the eye. Here "on the strong rocky hill (Col. Williams's) to the southwest of the lower fort, on a higher eminence of the same hill." Gen. Heath tells us. "part of a work was traced out on the 11th, and on the 14th of July a fortress was begun," which he tells us was one of the strongest that was erected. The works upon this and the neighboring hill are everywhere spoken of as exceedingly strong and well planned. They not only commanded the Neck, but also the



UPPER FORT.

road to Dedham, the depot of army supplies. Samuel Adams thus refers to them in a letter to Elbridge Gerry. He says, "Until I visited headquarters at Cambridge, I had never heard of the valor of Prescott at Bunker's Hill, [Adams was then a delegate to Congress at Philadelphia,] nor the ingenuity of Knox and Waters in planning the celebrated works at Roxbury."

The Upper, or "High Fort," as it has sometimes been called, regarded by Washington as the best and most eligibly situated of all the works then in course of construction, was quadrangular in form, about twelve rods square, with bastions at each angle. Near the magazine, which was on the southwest side, was a covered way and sally-port. The Stand-pipe is about in the centre of the work, and some two feet

above the original level of the ground. The view here given was made from the southwest angle of the fort in 1850, by Mr. Lossing, who thus describes it: —

"In the foreground a portion of the ramparts is seen; on the right is the house of Benjamin Perkins, on Highland Street; and extending across the picture towards the left is the side of the fort towards Boston, exhibiting prominent traces of the embrasures for the cannon. The eminence on which it stands is composed of huge bowlders of pudding-stone, having upon three sides natural *revetments* difficult for an enemy to scale. The embankments are from eight to fifteen feet in height, and within, the *terre-plein* in which the garrison was placed is quite perfect."

In 1825 the "Fort Lot" of twenty-eight acres, including the old earthwork itself, then in excellent preservation, was bought of the heirs of Col. Joseph Williams by S. C. Thwing, B. F. Copeland, David A. and Thomas Simmons, and Charles Hickling. The old fort, excluded from division, was to be owned in common, and ornamented and kept in repair at their joint expense. About 1830 the tract was offered to the town for three thousand five hundred dollars for a public square, but the proposal was frowned down both by the authorities and by the economical portion of the people, who seemed, in this instance, to have acted on the narrow and niggardly policy that "we should do nothing for posterity as posterity had never done anything for us." The value of this eminence for a reservoir was however understood by the city fathers of Roxbury, who ultimately bought it for that purpose.

It is greatly to be regretted that the old fort could not have been allowed to remain; but when the Stand-pipe was erected, the fiat of the Board of Water Commissioners, in whose eyes it was only so much dirt, went forth, and it disappeared. Thus was the best preserved and one of the most interesting, as well as one of the only remaining monuments of the siege completely obliterated. Instead of the picturesque old relic itself, which the imagination could have peopled

with the provincial soldiers, in their homespun garb, a simple tablet has been erected by the city, the shaft of which, six and one half feet high, two feet thick, and three and one half feet broad, is of Concord granite, and the base of Quincy granite. On its sides are two cannon in relief, similar to those at the top of Bunker Hill Monument, and which were used at the Roxbury lines. The cannon, the faces of the shaft, and the moulded work at the base are highly polished, and the monument is finished at the top by four cannon-balls.

FORT MONUMENT.

The Stand-pipe, erected in 1869 for the high service supply only, answered its purpose admirably, sufficing for the wants of the city until the annexation of Dorchester, Brighton, and West Roxbury rendered it necessary to construct the large Reservoir on Parker Hill. The base of the shaft is one hundred and fifty-eight feet above tide-marsh level. The interior pipe is a cylinder of boiler iron eighty feet long, and around this pipe, but within the exterior wall of brick, is a winding staircase leading to a lookout at the top. The total cost of the structure, and the pumping-works connected with it, was about one hundred thousand dollars.

## CHAPTER X.

### CENTRE STREET.

The Parting Stone. — Riley's Store. — Washington Lodge. — Workhouse. — Col. Joseph Williams. — Hog Bridge. — Tanner Heath. — Gen. William Heath. — Capt. John Gyles. — Parker Hill. — Philip Eliot. — Capt. Isaac Johnson. — The Lowell Estate. — Judge Lowell. — John Lowell, Jr. — Gamblin's End. — Thomas Bell. — Curtis Homestead.

THE highway from Elder Heath's Lane (that part of Roxbury Street north of the meeting-house) towards the Great Pond leading to Dedham, was afterwards called the Dedham Road, and since 1825 Centre Street. It is nearly seven miles in length from Eliot Square to the Dedham line, and was formerly the great artery connecting the northern and southern portions of the town, so continuing until the Dedham Turnpike was constructed.

Among the old landmarks yet remaining in Roxbury, one of the most interesting is a large stone at the corner of this street, known as the "Parting Stone." At the time this drawing was made, an iron shaft was inserted in it, having a fork at the upper end for the support of a street-lamp. On its northerly side it directs to Cambridge and Watertown, and on its southerly side to Dedham and Rhode Island. Lord Percy's soldiers read its inscription as they passed it by on their way to Lexington, one hot April forenoon, and it has afforded rest and informa-

tion to the tired wayfarer for many a long year. This is a durable and visible memorial of a good man, whose benefactions to the church, to the school, and to the town were frequent, and were gratefully acknowledged.

The strip of land between Centre and Roxbury Streets, and extending to Gardiner Street, was once the property of the town. At its northerly end is the old building, now the residence of Mr. Gardiner, occupied during the siege as a commissary's store, and more recently known as Riley's. Originally it was a square, two-story house, with a very large piazza on its Roxbury Street side, on which were seats that were in constant requisition, as this was a popular place of resort. Half a century ago, and before temperance societies were thought of, a bar was a component part of every grocery store, three cents being then the price of a full drink, six and a quarter cents the charge for a glass of punch, while the "two-cent club," as they were called, contented themselves with a modicum of gin. In the afternoon and evening Riley's store would be thronged, some making purchases, some drinking, others gossiping or talking politics, and others playing checkers. One of its noted *habitués* was "Johnny" Seaver, who, notwithstanding his vocation was that of sexton and parish undertaker, was a jolly fellow, always mirthful and ready for a joke. Another of its frequenters named Saunders, nicknamed "Deacon," and a celebrated wit, resided near Hog Bridge. The upper story of the building was a hall, frequently used as a place of meeting for military companies.

On the left is the old Turner house (see cut on page 366), built and originally occupied by one of the Ruggleses and used as a barrack during the siege. Opposite was the residence of Thomas Clarke, a leather-dresser and tanner, also town clerk and representative, and a man of note in his day. He began an evening school here on Jan. 1, 1795, but removed not long after to Boston. Beyond the Turner house on the left is a three-story house with brick ends, once the

residence of Nathaniel, son of Capt. Joseph Ruggles, a graduate of Harvard College in 1781, and a member of Congress from 1813 to 1819. A lawyer by profession, he was for many years prominent in town and county affairs. Hon. David A. Simmons and Hon. B. F. Copeland married daughters of Mr. Ruggles.

Lemuel Pierce's house and wheelwright's shop were near where Engine House No. 14 stands. The engine house is the site of the stone pound of a century ago, and also of an old schoolhouse. Pierce's Hall, in the upper part of his dwelling-house, was the first place of meeting of Washington Lodge of Freemasons, instituted March 14, 1796. Its founders, Simeon Pratt, John Ward, Moses Harriman, Ebenezer Seaver, Timothy Heely, Joseph Ruggles, Stephen Davis, and James Howe, met on the previous evening at the house of Mr. Harriman, still standing on Tremont Street, the third house north of Parker Street, and chose Ebenezer Seaver, Worshipful Master, Simeon Pratt, Senior Deacon, and John Ward, Junior Deacon. This was the thirteenth lodge chartered in Massachusetts. On October 16 the officers were publicly installed by the Grand Master, Paul Revere, the lodge was consecrated, and public services held in the First Church, closing with a procession and a banquet at the Masonic Hall. Three years later the lodge was removed to the upper part of Mr. Harriman's house, which he had fitted up for the purpose. From 1807 to 1816 its meetings were held at Sumner Hall, on Sumner Street; and from 1816 to 1841 in the building on the corner of Washington Street and Shawmut Avenue. Since 1865 the fine hall in the third story of Guild's Building has been the home of the lodge, which is

STONE POUND.

in a highly prosperous condition. Among its Past Masters were Ebenezer Seaver, Simeon Pratt, Nathaniel Ruggles, Nathaniel S. Prentiss, Samuel Barry, Samuel J. Gardiner, John Howe, Charles Wild, and George Frost.

The corner-stone of the First Baptist Church on Dudley Street was laid on May 12, and that of the Universalist Church on July 28, 1820, by Washington Lodge. Its twenty-fifth anniversary was celebrated March 14, 1821, by the delivery of an historical address by Worshipful Master John Howe. Masonry has always found a congenial home in Roxbury. St. John's Lodge of Boston, the first Masonic body organized in North America, frequently held its anniversary meetings in the old Greyhound Tavern on Roxbury Street between the years 1752 and 1775, and her heroic son, Joseph Warren, was, from 1769 to the day of Bunker's Hill, Grand Master of the order in Boston. Since Washington Lodge was founded two other Masonic bodies, the Mount Vernon Royal Arch Chapter, and Lafayette Lodge, have been organized in Roxbury.

One of the institutions of the town, rendered necessary by the progress of civilization, though unknown here for considerably more than a century after its settlement, was the old workhouse, that stood a few feet west of the engine house. Upon the land adjoining stands the residence of Mr. Prang, proprietor of the famous chromolithographic works on Roxbury Street. In March, 1766, the town ordered a workhouse to be built of brick on Meeting-House Hill, between John Slack's barn and the school land, which was finished early in 1768. During the siege, the inmates having been removed, a company of American soldiers was quartered here. In 1830, the population having tripled since it was built, the old house was voted "inadequate and unfit," and ten acres were purchased from David Dudley, situated on Highland near Marcella Street, adjoining the estates of Williams, Maccarty, and Thomas Brewer, and bounded also by

Stony River and the chemical works. Here, in 1831, a brick almshouse was built, at a cost of eleven thousand dollars.

To keep out undesirable and shiftless persons and strangers, and to prevent their becoming a charge upon the town, it was very early enacted that "if any person admit or receive such into his house and keep them over one week without leave of the selectmen, he shall be fined twenty shillings." The preservation of religious and social harmony was another and not less potent reason for such a regulation, and it was even extended to the entertainment of one's friends from other parts, this also being restricted to a limited time. Warnings under this rule were frequent, occurring as late as the close of the last century. Straggling Indians and "crazy" persons were in the early days often driven from the town.

Probably the most fruitful theme for town-meeting eloquence, with the possible exception of permitting the swine to go at large, was the subject of the town paupers and the cost of their support. It was gravely said on one occasion that the expense per capita would board them comfortably at the Tremont House. At one of the town meetings, a resident of the upper part of the town made this complaint. Said he, "You furnish most of the paupers from your part of the town (the easterly or lower portion), and we help support them; but you get their work, and we get nothing." The quizzical reply, and it effectually nonplussed the speaker, was, "Well, if we furnish all the poor, why should n't we have the benefit of their labor?"

Passing the residence of Mr. Prang we come to that of Mr. Roessle, the site of Nathaniel Ruggles's store, and later the residence of Lawyer Joseph Harrington, the father of George Harrington, late assistant treasurer of the United States and minister to Switzerland. On the corner of Centre Place, where the block of brick dwelling-houses stands, resided Capt. Jonathan Dorr, who was quite a prominent citizen. At the time of President Jackson's visit, it devolved upon him, as chairman of

the board of selectmen, to welcome the chief magistrate to Roxbury. When in the course of his remarks he uttered the sentiment, "May the arm be enervated that would strike down our glorious Constitution!" Jackson's spontaneous and characteristic response was, "By the Eternal, it shall be!" Capt. Dorr's house was removed to Ruggles Street, where it is now standing.

In front of Mrs. David Dudley's barn and near the street we next come to the site of Col. Joseph Williams's house. It was very old and large, two and a half stories high, had a double-pitched roof, and stood fronting Hog Bridge, with its end to the street. Its upper story projected some eighteen inches over the lower one, as in the garrison houses, designed for defence from Indian attacks. It was taken down at the time Mr. Dudley's house was built, some fifty years since, having stood more than a century and a half. The old well remains. Col. Williams was perhaps the largest landowner of Roxbury in his day, his estate comprising about one hundred and fifty acres. It included the homestead estate on both sides of Centre Street, extending from Cedar Street to Hog Bridge, and including the hill opposite his house, where the old forts stood, and much of the land south of it to School, now Amory Street. In front of the house of Col. Williams, who was a magistrate, the whipping-post formerly stood.

GARRISON HOUSE.

Joseph, great-grandson of Robert Williams, the emigrant, resided here until his death in 1798, at the age of ninety. No name occurs oftener in the town records than that of Col. Joseph Williams. He was many years a selectman; was frequently moderator of town meetings and active in town affairs; was often a member of the General Court; had been a colonel in the French war, serving at Lake George and in

the Mohawk region; and was prominent and active in the pre-revolutionary movements of the day. A journal kept by him during the French war was, till lately, in possession of the family. For nearly half a century, and until he attained the age of eighty, he had been clerk of the First Parish. Col. Williams had fifteen children. Those by his first wife, Martha Howell, were remarkable for their great size and physical power, the sons averaging nearly three hundred pounds each. His daughter Martha, who married William Williams, of Pomfret, was a woman of prodigious strength and great powers of mind.

COL. JOSEPH WILLIAMS.

On our right, nearly parallel with the course of Stony Brook and the track of the Providence Railroad, which lies to the west of it, is Pynchon Street, laid out in 1834 from Carleton's, on Tremont Street, to Heath Street, and named in honor of the founder of Roxbury. The once beautiful estates of Gore, Lowell, and Heath have been ruthlessly invaded and "improved," until a greater contrast than that of the past and present of this territory could hardly be imagined.

Central or Hog Bridge, as it has long been popularly called, where Stony Brook now runs under the street, is said to derive its name from the following incident: Col. Joseph Williams had a daughter Patty, remarkable, like all the family, for great physical strength, and who afterwards removed to Pomfret, Conn. One of her yet remembered feats was the loading, unaided, of two barrels of cider upon a countryman's wagon that had overset near the house, in response to his appeal for assistance. On the occasion above referred to,

and when she was a young girl of eighteen, the narrow passage over the bridge she was about to cross was impeded by a drove of hogs, the driver of which manifested no disposition to allow her to pass. To the request that he would make way for her, he returned an insulting reply. Whereupon she siezed one of the hogs and threw him into the stream, then sent her insulter to keep him company, and finished the job neatly by throwing another hog atop of him. A young woman of spirit was Patty Williams. Fancy a girl of the period confronted by a similar emergency!

Gen. Heath's brother Samuel, "Tanner" Heath as he was called, pursued his vocation on Stony Brook near the bridge until his decease in 1817. He lived in the old "Gary" homestead, next east of Fenner's meal store, which came into the possession of his grandfather, William Heath, in 1713. It is related of the tanner, whose temper was more pacific than that of the general, his brother, that having broken his promise to his neighbors, Jonathan Parker, Jeremiah Williams, and other "high Whigs" to assist in throwing the tea overboard, they went to his house one evening shortly after that event, fully determined to break down his door. The uplifted club, wielded by the vigorous arms of Parker, was about to descend upon it, when it suddenly opened, and their hostile purpose yielded to the pleasant invitation of Mrs. Heath to enter and partake of some refreshments, and excusing her husband's failure to keep his appointment on the plea of illness. Heath built and latterly occupied the Gardiner Brewer mansion, a little beyond on the other side of the street, unroofed in the great September gale. One of the prominent landmarks of this region, recently removed, was the tall chimney, with its seven times repeated echo, connected with the chemical works, erected in 1846.

The easterly corner of Heath Street and Bickford Avenue, at the base of Parker Hill, is the site of the old homestead, taken down in 1843, in which lived William Heath, a major-

general in the Revolutionary army. The Heath estate lay on both sides of Heath Street, adjoining that of John Parker on the north, reaching beyond Day Street on the west, and to Centre Street on the south, where it extended from the Lowell estate to a point nearly opposite Wyman Street. The Peleg Heath estate lay west of Day Street, extending beyond the Brookline boundary.

William Heath, the emigrant, was from Nazing, and came over in the "Lion" in 1632 with his wife Mary and five children, and settled in Roxbury in 1636. In his "Memoirs," written in 1798, General Heath says of himself: —

"He is of the fifth generation of the family who have inherited the same real estate (taken up in a state of nature), not large but fertile and pleasantly situated. He was brought up a farmer, of which profession he is yet passionately fond. He is of middling stature, light complexion, very corpulent, and bald-headed. From his childhood he was remarkably fond of military exercises, which passion grew up with him, and led him to procure and attentively to study every military treatise in the English language which was attainable."

Joining the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company at the age of seventeen, he was its captain in 1770, at which time he wrote for the "Boston Gazette" some essays signed "A Military Countryman," urging the importance of military discipline and skill in the use of arms; "for," said he prophetically, "it is more than probable that the salvation of this country, under Heaven, will sooner or later depend upon a well-regulated militia." It was partly through his efforts that the organization of the minute-men, which placed New England at once upon a war footing, was effected. He had previously been commissioned a captain in the Suffolk regiment by Gov. Bernard. Hutchinson superseded him in his command, but when in 1774 the people selected their own officers, Heath was unanimously chosen captain of the first company of Roxbury, and the same year colonel of the Suffolk regiment.

He was frequently moderator of town meetings, and a member of the General Court. Engaging with zeal in the Revolutionary contest, he was the trusty coadjutor of Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren; was a delegate to the Provincial Congresses of 1774 and 1775; and was an active member of the Committees of Correspondence and of Safety, the latter body virtually governing the province until superseded by the State government in 1780. Made a provincial major-general in June, 1775, he received the same rank from the Continental Congress in August following.

GEN. HEATH.

Heath, who was the only general officer on the ground on the memorable 19th of April, 1775, organized and directed the armed husbandmen who that day put the far-famed British regulars to flight. This was the only actual conflict in which he was engaged throughout the war. In his "Memoirs" he criticises the Lexington company, "whose standing so near the road was but a too much braving of danger, as they were sure to meet with insult or injury which they could not repel." Here the question naturally arises whether, if the British troops had passed through Lexington without bloodshed, the people would have rushed to arms and fired at Concord bridge, "the shot heard round the world." Certain it is that they believed the regulars were the aggressors, and that they were greatly excited by the slaughter of their brethren. Of the retreat he says, "I was several times greatly exposed while the British were descending from the high grounds in Menotomy to the plain. Soon after, the right flank of the British was exposed to the fire of a body of

militia which had come from Roxbury, Brookline, and Dorchester. For a few minutes the fire was brisk on both sides, and the British here had recourse to their field-pieces again."

The siege of Boston began when, at the close of that day, guards were posted at Charlestown Neck by Heath. It was the singular fortune of this officer to perform a similar duty eight years later at West Point, when the army was finally disbanded, his being the last division in the service. He commanded a division during the siege, was at the head of the eastern department in 1777, with the care of the Saratoga Convention prisoners, and subsequently had charge of the posts on the Hudson. Upon the discovery of Arnold's treason, Heath was the trusted officer to whom Washington confided the command at West Point. Returning to his farm at the close of the war, he was chosen a delegate to the Convention that adopted the Federal Constitution in 1788; was a State senator in 1791–92; and was judge of probate for Norfolk County from 1793 until his decease, Jan. 24, 1814, at the age of seventy-six. In 1806 he was chosen lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, but declined the office.

Heath's faithful service throughout the Revolutionary struggle is attested by an earnest and spontaneous private testimonial from his great chief, Washington, when, at its close, the officers were returning to their several homes. He was justly proud of this tribute, and valued it as a patent of nobility superior to any that monarch ever issued. "This letter," said he to Brissot de Warville, who paid him a visit at his farm in 1788, "is a jewel which in my eyes surpasses all the eagles and all the ribbons in the world." "With what joy," continues Brissot, "did this respectable man show me all parts of his farm! What happiness he enjoys on it! He is a true farmer. A glass of cider which he presented to me, with frankness and good-humor painted on his countenance, appeared to me superior to the most exquisite wines. With

this simplicity men are worthy of liberty, and they are sure of enjoying it for a long time."

Late in life Heath was corpulent and unwieldy in person, and while judge of probate was in the habit of making the journey from his house to Dedham in his chaise, which he completely filled, accompanied by his son on horseback, who was responsible for his safe transit. The republican simplicity of his manners may be inferred from the tradition that he occasionally drove to church in his ox-team, — perhaps intended as a hint to his more aristocratic neighbors, whose carriages were of a showy and stylish description. Honest, upright, and patriotic, Heath as a general was over-cautious. His pomposity of manner made him unpopular with his brother officers, one of whom gave him, while at West Point, the title of "Duke of Roxbury." Chastellux describes his countenance as noble and open, giving him a striking resemblance to Lord Granby. His remains were removed some years ago from the family tomb opposite the old homestead, to Forest Hills, but the pilgrim will seek in vain for a monumental tablet or inscription of any kind, commemorating this sterling patriot and upright man.

William Heath, grandfather of the general, who, on Sept. 3, 1703, was commissioned by Gov. Dudley, "captain of a foot company consisting of sixty soldiers," on March 3, 1739–40, bequeathed £50 to the town for a poor fund. The records leave us in ignorance as to what became of this bequest.

A near neighbor of Heath was Capt. John Gyles, who, in 1689, when a lad, was taken by the Indians at Pemaquid, Me., and remained a prisoner until 1698. He was for some years employed as an Indian interpreter, was in 1706 commissioned a captain by Gov. Dudley, and commanded at Fort George (Brunswick, Me.) and St. George's River (Thomaston). Though retaining the command at the latter place until 1742, William Heath being his first lieutenant,

and Ebenezer Seaver ensign, he retired in 1737, after thirty years of active and arduous frontier service, to Roxbury, where in 1721 he had married his second wife, Hannah Heath, aunt of the general, and died there in 1755, at the age of seventy-seven. Gyles's "Memoirs of Odd Adventures, Strange Deliverances, etc.," was published in Boston in 1736, at the earnest request, as he says, of his second consort. To disarm adverse criticism he prefaces his work with the remark of Sir Roger L'Estrange: "Though I made this composition principally for my family, yet if any man has a mind to take part with me, he has free leave and is welcome, but let him carry this consideration along with him, that he is a very unmannerly guest who forces himself upon another man's table, and then quarrels with his dinner."

There is no place in the vicinity of Boston from which a finer prospect may be obtained than from Parker Hill, or the "Great Hill," as it was formerly called. The view extends from the blue waters of the bay on one side to the undulating line of distant hills on the other. Roxbury lies beneath, and beyond, the great city stretches away to Somerville, the State House with its gilded dome and Bunker Hill Monument forming prominent points of view. Beyond Charles River lies the quiet-looking city of Cambridge, with its sightly University buildings. Nearer, in the west, is the town of Brookline, whose rural beauties are unsurpassed, and whose numerous elegant residences are seen scattered among the woods and hills, shaded by noble trees. On the south is the equally attractive scenery of West Roxbury, and glistening among the trees a glimpse may be caught of its beautiful pond; and in the southeast the vision is bounded by the Blue Hills of Milton. On all sides are seen distant villages, while numerous church spires rising above the groves mark the places where villages nestle unseen. Some twenty towns are embraced in the view from this spot. A large reservoir has lately been built here by the city. The Connecticut regi-

ments of Spencer, Huntington, and Parsons were encamped here during the siege.

On the summit of this hill once stood the elegant residence of John Parker, a wealthy and successful merchant. He began life as an apprentice to James Howe. the baker, and kept for a while in the old grocery store on Eliot Square. Very early in life he lost his father, Mr. Peter Parker, who was crushed to death by the fall of a barrel of cider he was unloading from a cart at his own door. Mr. Parker would never take more than six per cent interest, believing that no man could afford to pay more. He was tall and commanding in appearance, and "it was quite a treat," says one who knew him well, "to see him on a pleasant Sunday afternoon alight from his carriage at the old church, in a blue dress-coat with brass buttons, drab tights, white stockings, shoes with buckles, and powdered wig." Mr. Parker was a remarkably early riser, and was a good and kind neighbor.

On the south side of Parker Hill, not far from the corner of Parker and Heath Streets, was the mansion and estate of six acres belonging to Ezekiel Goldthwait, register of deeds for the county of Suffolk, before the Revolution. Here were quartered the field and staff of Huntington's Connecticut regiment in 1775. Goldthwait, at first, inclined to the popular side, but was an addresser of Hutchinson when that unpopular governor sailed for England in 1774, and yet adroitly managed to escape proscription as a loyalist and to retain his valuable property when the royal power was overthrown.

The list of casualties on the 19th of April, 1775, contains but one Roxbury name, Elijah Seaver, famous for possessing a stentorian voice, and who at the close of the eventful day was among the missing. He had been taken prisoner, and was one of those first exchanged on the 6th of June following. Seaver lived on the northwest corner of Day and Heath Streets, in a house which is yet standing. John Perry's homestead of two acres was on the corner opposite, having John

Graves on the south. The apostle Eliot calls him "Cosin Perrie."

West of Stony Brook and south of Heath Street, a district since included in the Lowell and Heath estates, originally contained the homesteads of Philip Eliot, James Astwood, Isaac Johnson, Robert Pepper, John Graves, Arthur Gary, John Perry, and William Heath. The most northerly of these, "his house, barn, and house-lot of three acres on Stony River, east," was Philip Eliot, brother of the apostle, "a right godly and dilligent person, who useth to accompany him to the Indians," and of whom Eliot leaves this record: —

"He dyed about the 22d of the 8th mo. 1657. He was a man of power and very faithful. He was many yeares in the office of a Deakon which he discharged faithfully. In his latter years he was very lively, usefull and active for God and his cause. The Lord gave him so much acceptance in the hearts of the people that he died under many of the offices of trust that are usually put upon men of his rank, for besides his office of Deakon he was a deputy of the Gen. Court, a Commissioner for the gov't of the town, one of the five men to order the prudential affairs of the town, and was chosen to be Feoffee of the Schoole in Roxbury."

Opposite Amory Street, where Centre Street bends to the west "butting upon the highway east and south," was the house, barn, and two acres of Capt. Isaac Johnson. He was the son of John Johnson, whose sounding title of "surveyor-generall of all y^e^ armyes" must have inspired the savage foe with wholesome terror. The father was undoubtedly an old soldier, and his son certainly was a brave one. He was made a freeman in 1635, and was a representative and captain of the artillery company. In 1653 he was chosen captain of the Roxbury company, Sergt. Craft was chosen lieutenant, and Sergt. Bowles ensign. Capt. Johnson was killed in the famous Narragansett "fort fight," Dec. 19, 1675. The only entrance to the Indian stronghold was by means of a felled tree bridging the swamp, over which but

one man could pass at a time, and this narrow pathway was protected by a block house. The brave Roxbury captain was shot dead on this bridge, over which he was leading his men. West of Johnson was the homestead of Robert Pepper, who in 1642 married his sister Elizabeth. A Robert Pepper was captured by Indians while on his way to Northfield, in 1675. The house, barn, and four acres of James Astwood lay between Johnson and Eliot.

The Lowell estate, formerly Thomas Gunter's, lay between the south side of old Heath and Centre Streets, extending northerly to a point nearly opposite the Heath mansion, and on Centre Street, where it had a frontage of five hundred feet, to a point beyond Bickford Street. Bought in 1785 by Judge John Lowell, who resided here until his decease, May 6, 1802, it was afterward the home of his son, John Lowell, Jr., who built upon it a stone castle from a model sketched by himself of an old one in Europe. Early in the present century it was the residence of another eminent lawyer, Samuel Dexter, whose sons Franklin, also distinguished at the bar, and Samuel W., both graduated from the old Roxbury grammar school in 1808. The Lowell mansion, long since removed from its old site, is now standing on Bickford Street, its appearance spoiled by a modern French roof. In its day this was an attractive New England home, furnished without ostentation, but on a generous scale, and with tokens of culture and refinement everywhere visible.

One of Mr. Lowell's daughters still resides on the portion of the estate on Centre Street next south of the railroad crossing. The garden belonging to this estate had five greenhouses upon it, and was the finest in the State. Among the many and extraordinary changes wrought by time in the old town, none is more striking than that presented here, as the result of laying through this elegant property the track of the Boston and Providence Railroad.

Born at Newbury in 1743, John Lowell, at the beginning

of the Revolution, was already an eminent lawyer in full practice. He was a delegate to the old Congress, and chief justice of the United States Circuit Court in 1801–2. While a member of the committee to draught the Constitution of Massachusetts he inserted in the Bill of Rights the clause declaring that "all men are born free and equal," for the avowed purpose of abolishing slavery in the State. He was one of the confidential advisers of the measures by which that formidable outbreak, Shays's Insurrection, was suppressed, and was appointed by Washington one of the judges of the United States District Court on its institution in 1789. At the bar he was the frequent competitor and formidable rival of Theophilus Parsons. He was active in establishing the Academy of Arts and Sciences, before which he delivered an oration on the death of President Bowdoin on Jan. 26, 1795.

Harrison Gray Otis, a law student in his office, thus describes him; —

"He was about five feet ten inches in height, and inclined to corpulence. His gait was rapid and hurried, his conversation rapid and ardent. He was the very mirror of benevolence, which beamed in and made attractive a countenance not remarkable for symmetry of feature or beauty; and his companionable talents, though never displayed at the expense of dignity, made him the delight of the society in which he moved, and which he always put at ease. He was one of the most amiable, pure, and honorable of men, and his honesty and moderation were proverbial. In a satirical and very personal farce got up by a witty desperado, and which had a great run, he was dubbed by the author, no friend of his, 'Lawyer Candor,' a most appropriate sobriquet, which the world unanimously applied to him. His consultations with clients were principally at his own house in Roxbury, and in short interviews. He generally amused himself in his garden until it was time to hurry into court, where he never arrived too early, and then plunging *in media res* in causes with the points and merits of which he had been superficially informed, yet on the spot, when he came as elder counsel to sum up, he appeared entirely familiar with the Gordian knot. He soon warmed and moved on with impassioned eloquence and vehement gesture, taking up the jury in his balloon and landing them where he pleased."

During the period of his Roxbury residence Judge Lowell had withdrawn from active office business. He took a leading part in town affairs, and as a trustee of the grammar school contributed greatly to its financial prosperity by his policy of leasing its lands for a long term of years. He left three sons, all of whom became eminent, — John, Francis Cabot, founder of the city of spindles, and Rev. Charles, an esteemed clergyman of Boston, father of James Russell Lowell.

John Lowell, Jr., a distinguished writer upon politics and agriculture, was in person a great contrast to his father, being very short and slender. Graduating at Harvard in 1786, he was admitted to the bar in 1789, and practised law with repute until 1803, when he visited Europe. After his father's death, and until his own decease in 1840, he occupied the paternal estate in Roxbury, entering with all his heart into the study and pursuits of agriculture, in which he delighted. Over the signature of "A Roxbury Farmer," he exerted great influence upon the agricultural community, and was often quoted as authority upon the subject.

After the decease of Mr. Ames in 1808, Mr. Lowell possessed a greater ascendency than any other person in New England over the minds of those who were opposed to the national administration. His articles in the "Centinel," signed "A Boston Rebel," and his pamphlet on "Madison's War," were most powerful attacks on the party in power, and aroused by their piquant style and inflammatory nature a strong opposition to it. In those exciting times a rumor was circulated, that some of those who had been exasperated by his political attacks had threatened to burn his house in Roxbury to the ground. This rumor was so far credited, that some of his friends went out from Boston to offer themselves as the guard of his person and property for the night. Mr. Lowell expressed his belief that his fellow-townsmen were incapable of such an act, and declined their offers of assistance. Indeed, no aid beyond the limits of the town would

in any case have been required, for several of the most respectable inhabitants of Roxbury itself, and of both political parties, volunteered to stand ready to defend it to the last extremity. It was not long after this that by his services in town affairs, on school committees, and in private counsels, he had won the love and respect of the people, "and there was not an inhabitant of Roxbury of any sense or heart," says Dr. Greenwood, "who would not have defended that once obnoxious house at the risk of his own life."

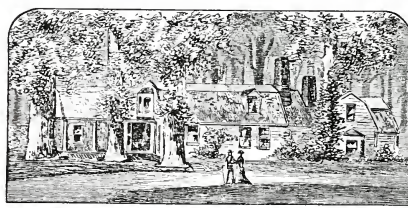
"The highway from Elder Heath's pasture lot by Stony River to Gamblin's End, to the pasture lot of goodman Gamblin to the Rocky Bottom," afterwards called School Street, is now Amory Street as far as its junction with Boylston. Despite its name, there is nothing tragic about "Gamblin's End." For aught we know it was eminently peaceful; but one looks here in vain for a natural boundary such as the name suggests, the only noticeable topographical feature being a sudden falling off of the land west of School Street, near Mrs. Adams's, the beginning of the level plateau of Jamaica Plain. Mrs. Adams's residence, on the west side of School Street, was built in 1782, by Capt. Joseph, son of Col. Joseph Williams, and was for many years the residence of Mr. Nehemiah D. Williams. Robert Gamblin came over in 1632 in the same ship with Edward Winslow, and with him William Perkins and John Levins, who settled in Roxbury. This family afterwards went to Portsmouth, N. H. Gamblin's homestead was north of Bell's, and between that and Stony Brook. Of his son Robert, Jr., Eliot says: —

"He brought only one child, who was the son of his wife by a former husband. His name is John Mayo. He was but a child. Mary, a maide servant, daughter of Robert Gamlin the elder, came with her father in the yeare 1632. She was a very gracious maiden. She dyed in Mr. Pinchon's family of the small-pox in the year 1633."

On the corner of Amory Street, near the railroad bridge, is the John Curtis house, an old, gambrel-roof dwelling of the

last century. Back of it runs Stony Brook, lined with huge willows. This old house was bought in 1742 by Jeremiah Williams, blacksmith, brother of Col. Joseph and the father of Major Edward Payson Williams. An old mansion, once the residence of Mr. John Amory, now a public house, and styled the "Amory Hotel," is on our left as we approach "Gamblin's End," while on our right a new brick brewery seems sadly out of place in this sylvan retreat. Somewhere in this immediate vicinity was the house and fourteen rods of ground belonging to John May, or Mayes, as it was then written, the ancestor of the well-known family of that name. The book of "Houses and Lands" describes it as "a triangle abutting on R. Gamblin east, the highway northwest, and Thomas Bell's orchard southwest." May, who had been master of a vessel called the "James," sailing as early as 1635 between London and New England, came to Roxbury in 1640, and died on April 23, 1670.

The fine old mansion near the corner of Amory and Boylston Streets, now the residence of Gen. W. Raymond Lee, was



GEN. W. RAYMOND LEE'S RESIDENCE.

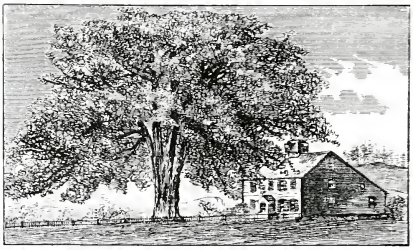
built in 1766 on the land given by Thomas Bell in 1672 to the Roxbury Free School, of which he was the most liberal benefactor. Near it stood, until its demolition in 1765, Mr. Bell's

homestead, afterwards that of Capt. Ebenezer Gore, the sound portion of the old materials being made use of in the new structure. The homestead came about 1810 into the possession of Thomas Amory, "London Tom," whose daughter Mr. Lee married. At the bend of the road is a large English elm, and on the grounds in front of the house are many fine specimens of elms, English and American, so disposed as to add greatly to the picturesque effect produced by the low, irregular outlines of the residence itself. The old portion of the house is central, the wings are modern additions.

Mr. Bell bequeathed all his real estate in Roxbury in trust for "the maintenance of a schoolmaster and free schoole for the teaching and instructing of poore men's children in the town." This gift, a very large one for the time, with its accumulations, renders the school one of the most richly endowed in the country. His lands extended from Stony River, taking in this homestead, across School Street and the turnpike up to Walnut Avenue. The beautiful, smooth field of eighteen acres at the right of Washington Street, on the brow of the hill, on the corner of School Street as you come north, and the great orchard opposite, are embraced in this portion of the princely bequest of Thomas Bell, a merchant, who resided here from 1635 until his return in 1654 to England, where he died in 1672. The apostle Eliot's influence was no doubt exerted to procure this gift for the school, whose establishment he had done so much to promote; and we also find Mr. Bell further sustaining that good man's endeavors by becoming one of the corporators in England of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. The memory of Thomas Bell should be fondly cherished by the people of Roxbury.

A short distance west of the Bell homestead stands the old Curtis house. In 1639 William Curtis built on the margin of Stony Brook a substantial dwelling, supposed to be the one now standing. It is in excellent preservation, and is inhab-

ited by the widow and children of the fifth Isaac Curtis who has occupied it, and who was the seventh in descent from William, the emigrant. The instances of the continuous occupation of the homestead by the same family for a period of two hundred and forty years, are very rare in New England. The neighborhood was originally a forest, abounding in wild animals, and a pair of antlers can now be seen in the old house, taken from a buck that was shot from within it, probably while drinking from the brook. In 1659 twenty



OLD CURTIS HOMESTEAD.

shillings was paid by the town to Philip Curtis, for killing a wolf here. "William Curtis's homestead of ten acres was bounded south on Stony River, north on Robert Pepper, west on John Ruggles and John Totman, and east on George Brand," says the ancient Transcript of Lands.

The house — a good specimen of the second period of New England architecture — stands on Lamartine Street, near the Boylston station of the Boston and Providence Railroad, over which a hundred trains run by it daily, and is probably one of the oldest inhabited dwellings in the United States. Near it, shaded by the magnificent elm seen in the picture, is the spring that doubtless determined the locality of the

dwelling. Tradition says this tree was transplanted a hundred years ago, by one of the family, from a meadow in "Rocky Swamp," a tract lying between Washington Street and Forest Hills Street, then owned by the Curtises. With care it will probably last another century. A large, healthy, fruit-bearing currant-bush grows from a knot-hole on its eastern side.

The timbers of the Curtis house are of unseasoned white oak, doubtless cut from the farm. The nails were all wrought, there being then no machines for cutting them. The building is of two stories, with eight rooms, a garret above, and a small square entry on the lower floor, separating two of the main rooms. It has a pitched roof, sloping down at the rear to within a few feet of the ground, and in the centre stands the enormous square chimney. The windows are small. Originally the glass was diamond-shaped, and set in leaden sashes, but about the beginning of this century these gave place to the small panes of glass they now have, and the lead was converted into spoons. Square blocks of oak, about ten inches across, serve as cellar stairs, and show unmistakable signs of wear from the tread of the generations that have passed over them. Much of the old furniture, handed down for generations, yet remains. Perhaps the apostle Eliot sat at that quaint old table, Winthrop or Thomas Dudley in that antique chair. A company of Rhode Island soldiers were quartered here during the siege of Boston.

William Curtis, a native of the parish of Nazing, was married there to Sarah, daughter of Bennett Eliot and the sister of the apostle, in 1618. They came over with other Roxbury settlers in the "Lion," in 1632, bringing four children. Another passenger was Ann Mountfort, the affianced of Eliot, to whom she was married a month after her arrival. There can be little doubt that the influence of his brother-in-law, Curtis, was potent in drawing Eliot from Boston, where he was so earnestly "labored with" to induce him to remain.

Most of the persons bearing the name of Curtis in the United States are descended from William. They seem to be a prolific and a long-lived race. Forty families of this stock from 1632 to 1850 had an average of over five children each, and thirty-seven lived to the average term of sixty-six years. One of his descendants, in 1721, bought a horse and negro and set up market-gardening, and was the first man who carried vegetables to town in a cart instead of in panniers. Philip, son of William Curtis, was lieutenant of Capt. Henchman's company, that left Boston on Nov. 1, 1675, to rescue two youths whom the savages had captured at Marlborough. The rescue was effected, but Curtis and several of his companions were killed. Of William, another son, Eliot says, "He was a hopeful scholler, but God took him in the end of 1634."

Just beyond the railroad bridge, on the east side of Centre Street, was the Wyman farm of about sixty acres, now including Lamartine Street, and a part of which many years ago was a training-field. The Wentworth house opposite was in those days a tavern, kept by Phineas Withington, and upon all occasions of parade and festivity it was well patronized. After a review, the performances would close on Huckleberry Hill, now known as Cedar Hill, with a "sham fight," generally ending with some bloody noses. On the left, before coming to Boylston Street, is the locality still known as "Totman's Rocks," named from John Totman, an early settler, whose dwelling and nine acres of land were located between Day and Boylston Streets. Next comes the Paul Gore estate, formerly the site of Thomas Baker's house and wheelwright shop. In 1720 Timothy Parker bought of John Ruggles the house, barn, and three acres of land on the easterly corner of Boylston and Centre Streets. On Parker's Hill adjoining, and where Mr. George S. Curtis lives, the company of Capt. Trowbridge, of Farmington, Conn., was encamped in 1775. Where Mr. Charles F.

Curtis now resides, the old house of Ebenezer Newell formerly stood.

In 1712, Samuel, the grandson of William Curtis, bought of Joshua Bowen, twenty acres bordering on Jamaica Pond, and built in 1722 the house in which his son and grandson Joseph lived, and in which Miss Catharine P. Curtis, his granddaughter, resided, until her decease in July last. To the antiquarian taste and research of Miss Curtis, the public is indebted for the collection and preservation of much that is interesting in the past history of the town. He afterwards bought the Perkins farm of fourteen acres of the heirs. The street leading from this point to Brookline, north of the pond, known in the early days as Connecticut Lane, was named for William Perkins, who came to Roxbury in 1632. Nathaniel Winchester had an estate of fifty acres on this street.

Joseph, the son of Samuel Curtis, in 1771 married Catharine Parker, who kept a shop of British goods on Boylston Street. During three months of the siege of Boston he gave up his house, reserving only his wife's shop and one chamber, to a company from Connecticut, composed of young men of good station. One night, upon a sudden alarm that the British were coming out from Boston, each man brought his watch and purse and deposited them with Mrs. Curtis. "Why, what shall I do with them?" she asked. "If we come back," they replied, "we will know our own, and if we never return we would rather you should have them than the British." After the war, Joseph Curtis presented a claim against the State for "barracking" men from the companies of Major Thompson, Capt. Noadiah Hooker, and Capt. Aldrich, of Connecticut, Capt. Eaton, of Haverhill, and Capt. Barnes, of Methuen. His son Joseph died in 1858, after a career of great usefulness, he having served the town long and faithfully, as school committeeman, selectman, and representative.

## CHAPTER XI.

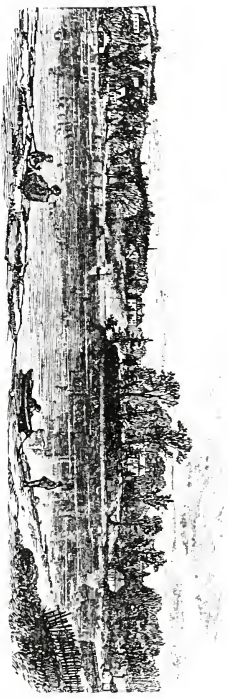
### JAMAICA PLAIN.

Jamaica Pond. — The Aqueduct. — Social Aspects. — Hallowell House. — Ward Nicholas Boylston. — Linden Hall. — Warren's Country Seat. — Loring House. — Capt. Sears. — Third Church. — Parsonage. — Rev. William Gordon. — Rev. Thomas Gray. — Eliot School. — Soldiers' Monument. — Moses Williams. — John Hancock's Country Seat. — Lemuel Hayward. — Nathaniel Curtis. — Sir Francis Bernard. — Pepperell. — Whitney. — Childs. — Peacock Tavern. — Samuel Adams.

JAMAICA PLAIN is one of the loveliest spots in New England. It abounds in springs and brooks, and its soil, light and gravelly, is easily cultivated. Environed as it is by beautifully sloping hills, forming a complete basin, the place is almost entirely sheltered from east winds, and on account of its peculiar salubriousness, has been called the "American Montpelier." For fifty years its death-rate averaged but one to one hundred. Its inhabitants were in the olden time principally well-to-do farmers, and until recently it was a market-garden for the supply of vegetables for Boston. Many elegant country seats are delightfully situated on the banks of the lake and elsewhere, and the Plain is dotted with the tasteful cottages of business men, who retire every evening from their avocations in the city to this charming spot. For more than a century it has been an attractive summer resort for Bostonians.

Originally called the "Pond Plain," it had as early as 1667 received its present designation, as appears by Hugh Thomas's conveyance of his property here for the benefit of a school, "to the people at the Jamaica end of the town of

Roxbury." It is undoubtedly a slander upon the good people of this locality to assert that it derives its name from their fondness for "Jamaica" rum, and that they preferred it "plain." However this may be, the fact that the island of Jamaica had not long before been taken by Cromwell from the Spaniards, and that its rum, sugar, and other products had already found their way to the adjacent port of Boston, is certainly suggestive. The nomenclature in question may, notwithstanding ingenious theorizing, be safely referred to the desire to commemorate Cromwell's valuable acquisition.



JAMAICA POND.

The beautiful sheet of water known as "Jamaica Pond" covers an area of nearly seventy acres, with a depth in some places of sixty to seventy feet; and

until the introduction of Cochituate water into Boston in 1848, supplied that city by means of an aqueduct with excellent water. It now provides that metropolis with ice of the best quality. The right to draw water from the pond for mill purposes, granted to certain citizens in 1698, conditionally, was the frequent cause of litigation till 1851, when the Boston Water Board bought the right for forty-five thousand dollars, and in 1856 the city sold it for thirty-five thousand dollars to the present corporation, on condition that they should not bring water into the city proper. The Aqueduct Company was incorporated in 1795. About forty-five miles of pipes, made of logs, were laid; the trenches were only three to three and a half feet in depth, which did not prevent freezing in severe weather, while the smallness of the pipes, four-inch mains, limited the supply.

Speaking of the social and other aspects of the place, the Rev. Thomas Gray, in his half-century discourse, delivered in 1842, said: —

"When I first came among you this was a quiet, retired, rural little village, and there was not a single allurement either to physical, moral, or religious intemperance or excess to be found within its limits. Its simplicity of manners reminded one of Goldsmith's

> 'Sweet Auburn! loveliest village of the plain,
> Where health and plenty cheered the laboring swain.'

"Fashionable manners were unknown here then. The good dame's visits were made at an early hour in the afternoon, each with her knitting work still going on while engaged in social converse, and at dusk rolling up their work and returning home, refreshed from their social intercourse, to their domestic enjoyments and duties, which they wisely and justly considered as paramount to all others. There was more of true happiness in those humble dwellings than all the modern refinement of art, of wealth, or fashion combined can now boast or ever impart.

> 'These were thy charms, sweet village. Joys like these,
> With sweet succession, taught e'en toil to please;
> These round thy bowers their cheerful influence shed.'

"There seemed also perfect union of purpose and action in almost every person and every thing. Whenever a new dwelling was contemplated the whole neighborhood volunteered its services, prepared and stoned the cellar and well, and gave often days of labor to aid and speed on the object. There existed also at that time but one religious sentiment and feeling, and until a very recent period all met and worshipped together in this place. In this whole town there were only three churches and three ministers, all as perfectly known, loved, and understood by each other as though they had been brothers. Now (1842), there are eleven churches and ministers, besides fifteen other clergymen, making twenty-six in all, and of about as many varying creeds, most of them scarcely known to each other even by name, though residing so near, much less by neighborly or social and friendly intercourse as formerly."

In the summer of 1775 the Rhode Island troops under Gen. Greene were stationed at the Plain, and were quartered in different houses upon the inhabitants. Some were at Deacon Nathaniel Weld's and others at Joseph Curtis's, on Centre Street. Troops from Connecticut were also stationed on the plain. The soldiers were in general said to be very impudent to the inhabitants, especially a company from the town of Methuen.

At the corner of Centre and Boylston Streets stands a quaint but picturesque dwelling, whose irregular proportions strike the eye agreeably. It was built about the year 1738. Early in April, 1775, it was hastily vacated by Capt. Benjamin Hallowell, its loyalist owner, who sought refuge in Boston, and it was used during the siege by the patriot forces as a hospital for the camp at Roxbury. Soldiers were buried from it near the road, about forty rods from the house, in the direction of the Boylston Street Station. After the siege it was leased by the selectmen to Jonathan Mason, Esq.

The property, consisting of the dwelling-house and other buildings and about seven acres of land, was confiscated by the State, and was bought in 1791 by Dr. Lewis Leprilete; but after the death of Capt. Hallowell, his son, Ward Nicholas,

claimed the property in the right of his mother, assumed her name of Boylston, and obtained the estate by process of law in 1801. The remains of the doctor and those of his son still occupy the estate, of which while living they were dis-

HALLOWELL HOUSE.

possessed, and the spot of their interment is marked by a stone with this Latin inscription : —

"In memoria Doctoris Ludovici Leprilete, Mass. Med. Soc. Socii, Nati Nante in Gallia, Oct. 10, Anno Domini MDCCL. Obit Julii die 29, MDCCCIV Ætat suæ LIV. Celeberrimus in chirugia.

Hic etiam, ejus filius solus Ludovicus Leprilete sepultus est, Natus Jan. 12 Anno Domini MDCCLXXXV. Obiit Oct. 30, MDCCXCII Ætat suæ octavo anno."

Near the house, on the corner of the lane in front, Dr. Leprilete built an English goods shop, kept by himself for some time, afterwards by Luke Baker, of Boston. In 1803 Mr. Boylston removed it to the hill directly opposite Boylston

Hermitage, so called, on Boylston Street, and converted it into a dwelling-house, yet standing. The Hermitage was originally a brush-maker's shop, which was built in Burroughs Street, near Jamaica Pond, by a Mr. Knowlton. Mr. Boylston bought and removed it to its present location in 1807, converting it into a dwelling-house as it now stands. It has since been removed to the corner of Lamartine Street. He entered it in December, 1809. The present owner of the old Hallowell mansion, Dr. Wing, has made additions to the original structure, and has had it thoroughly repaired. The engraving represents the old house as it formerly was.

Hallowell in early life was captain of a small vessel, and during the war ending in the conquest of Canada commanded the province twenty-gun ship "King George," rendering essential service, notably at the retaking of Newfoundland. As a commissioner of His Majesty's customs he was extremely obnoxious, and his acceptance also of the office of mandamus councillor made him a special object of public detestation. How intense was the popular excitement at this time is seen in the following occurrences: —

"A few nights ago," wrote Gov. Hutchinson to a friend, in June, 1770, "Mr. Hulton's house (in Brookline) was attacked. You will easily judge the distress of Mrs. Hulton, Mrs. Burch, and daughter. Burch, who has lately moved to Tom Oliver's house at Dorchester, lay upon his arms the next night, and kept his scouts out, but the women being so distrest, both Hulton and he went the day after to the castle with their friend Porter, and several of the officers lodged upon Jamaica Plain. Lady Bernard told me yesterday, at Cambridge, that all the gentlemen upon the Plain left their houses the night before, upon intimation that they were in danger, and that a search for officers was intended."

On Sept. 2, 1774, while the people were assembled on Cambridge Common to receive the resignations of Danforth, Lee, and Oliver, as mandamus councillors, Hallowell passed on his way to Roxbury. The sight of him so inflamed the

people that one hundred and sixty horsemen were soon in pursuit at full gallop. Some of the leaders, however, prudently dissuaded them from proceeding, and they returned and dismounted, except one man, who followed Hallowell to Roxbury, where he overtook and stopped him in his chaise. Hallowell snapped his pistols at him, but could not disengage himself from him till he quitted the chaise and mounted his servant's horse, on which he rode into Boston at full speed, till, the horse falling within the gate, he ran on foot to the camp, through which he spread consternation, telling them he was pursued by some thousands, who would be in town at his heels, and destroy all friends of the government before them. It was this alarm that aroused the country, and started hundreds of armed men on the road to Boston.

His combativeness was irrepressible, and was not confined to rebels, for the newspapers of August, 1775, give the details of a street fight between him and Admiral Graves. Hallowell was one of those excepted from pardon by the Provincial Congress, on the 16th of June, 1775, in retaliation for Gage's proclamation, excepting Hancock and Samuel Adams. With his family of six persons he accompanied the British army to Halifax in March, 1776, and in July sailed for England. While in Halifax he frequently but vainly offered his services to the commander-in-chief in subduing the rebellion. On visiting Boston in 1796, he was kindly received and hospitably entertained. He died at York (Toronto), Upper Canada, March 28, 1799, aged seventy-five. This pen-and-ink sketch is from John Adams's Diary: —

"*Jan. 16, 1766.* Dined at Mr. Nick Boylston's with the two Mr. Boylstons, two Mr. Smiths, Mr. Hallowell, and their ladies. The conversation of the two B.'s and Hallowell is a curiosity. Hotspurs all. H. tells stories about Otis and Sam. Adams. Otis, he says, told him that the Parliament had a right to tax the colonies, and he was a d—d fool who denied it, and that the people never would be quiet till we had a council from home, till our charter was taken

away, and till we had regular troops quartered upon us. He says he saw Adams under the tree of Liberty when the effigies hung there, and asked him who they were and what. He said he did not know, he could not tell — he wanted to inquire."

His son Benjamin was one of seven Boston boys who subsequently attained high rank in the British service,—Admirals Sir Isaac Coffin and Sir Benjamin Hallowell (Carew), and Gens. Sir John and Sir Aston Coffin, Hugh Mackay Gordon, Sir David Ochterlony, and Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe. Entering the royal navy during the American war, he was at the time of his death, in 1834, an admiral of the Blue. He was a lieutenant under Rodney in his memorable fight with DeGrasse, and in command of the "Swiftsure," 74, contributed essentially to Nelson's victory of the Nile. From a piece of the mainmast of "L'Orient," picked up by the "Swiftsure," Hallowell had a coffin made which he sent to Nelson. The hero, who cherished a warm friendship for Hallowell, received it in the spirit in which it was sent, ordered it to be placed upright in his cabin, and to be reserved for the purpose for which its brave and worthy donor designed it. Succeeding to the estates of the Carews of Beddington, Hallowell assumed the name and arms of that family.

The other son, Ward Nicholas, who took the name of Boylston, and inherited his father's estate, had made in early life the tour of Europe, Asia, and Africa. He returned to his native place in the year 1800, and died at his seat in Roxbury, Jan 7, 1828. Mr. Boylston, who was a gentlemen of education, took an active interest in the Roxbury schools, and made valuable donations to Harvard College. His liberality is commemorated by a school, a market, and a street named for him in his native place.

The large house on the corner of Pond Street, now Mrs. John Williams's, was built in 1755 by John Gould, for his son-in-law, Rev. John Troutbeck, assistant rector of King's

Chapel, where he officiated for twenty years. Troutbeck, with other loyalists, left Boston in 1776. He was in London in 1777, in which year Benjamin Hallowell wrote his son Ward, "Poor Parson Troutbeck, going round to Newcastle in a collier, is taken by one of the pirates that is cruising in the North Sea." Possibly by Paul Jones, who was then making captures in that latitude, and who was thus stigmatized by the enemies of America. Of Troutbeck, who was a distiller as well as a clergyman, a Boston rhymester sings: —

"John of small merit, who deals in spirit,
As next in course I sing;
Fain would I treat, as is most meet,
This chaplain of the king.
His Sunday aim is to reclaim
Those that in vice are sunk,
When Monday 's come he selleth rum
And gets them plaguy drunk."

"Linden Hall," as it was formerly called, became the property of a Mr. Greene, who added another story to the edifice, and fitted young men for college there. On the opposite corner of Pond Street is an old mansion, once owned by Benjamin May, blacksmith, who purchased four acres here of Nathaniel Brewer, in 1732. This was afterwards the house of John Parker, who married Benjamin May's daughter. Benjamin was the great-grandson of John May, Sen.

A two-story cottage with dormer-windows, long known as Dr. John C. Warren's country seat, now the residence of Calvin Young, stands near the northerly corner of Green and Centre Streets. In 1740 Eleazer May sold this estate, including the house in which he dwelt, to Benjamin, nephew of Peter Faneuil, of whom it was bought in 1760 by his brother-in-law, Benjamin Pemberton. It originally contained seven acres, and extended back to the river. Mr. Pemberton, in a note to the assessors in 1783, speaks of the property as "now greatly out of repair, and much damaged by provincial soldiers."

When Dr. Warren bought the estate, about the year 1800, he found the dwelling-house constructed after the West India fashion of one story in front, with an addition of two stories in the rear. A large front door opened directly into a spacious hall. This door and the one opposite were perfectly plain on the inside, indicating that they were always to stand open. Facing you as you entered was the door at the other end of the hall, leading through a porch into a large carriage-yard.

DR. WARREN'S COUNTRY SEAT.

The two large windows in front were furnished with blinds of half-inch board, leaving spaces half a foot wide between them. On the right side of the hall were two doors, leading to bedrooms. Opposite there were windows made to shut down upon doors opening into a piazza, which led into a small garden adjoining the house. These windows formed each of them a good-sized door, the lower part of which seemed as if a piece of the panelling or wainscot had been cut out and placed on hinges. The hall floor was painted, and in its centre was the picture of a dog, admirably executed and life-like. Three noble elms stood upon the road, one of which still remains at the westerly corner of the house, while within

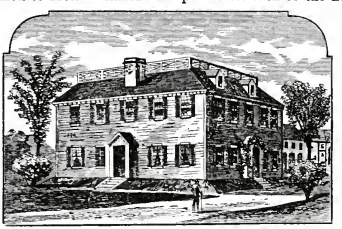
were lindens, and beyond these two rows of fine horse-chestnut trees.

Many changes have been made in the old house. One of the original features of the mansion, the elegant panelled wainscoting in the large room on the left as you enter, has been retained, but the windows no longer extend to the floor, admitting of free ingress and egress to the piazza; and the immense chimney that once buttressed its northerly side has been removed. During his residence here, Dr. Warren imported many trees and plants from Europe, and paid great attention to agriculture. He was the son of Dr. John and a nephew of Gen. Joseph Warren, and was one of the most distinguished surgeons this country has produced. Mr. and Mrs. Young have resided here since 1837. The latter is a sister of the well-known historical writers, John S. and William Barry.

Burroughs Street, from Centre to Pond Street, the gift of William Burroughs, was accepted by the town in 1787. Thomas Street was named for Hugh Thomas, an early settler. On the corner stood a house, dating from 1716, known as the Sally Brewer house, now moved back to the end of the street. It was formerly the Brewer mansion, Stephen Brewer residing in it, and was on the Eliot land, leased by the grammar school trustees for ninety-nine years. The Eliot and Thomas estates, given to the school, extended from Thomas to Orchard Streets, and from Centre to Pond. Eliot Street was opened through to Pond in 1800. At its corner stands one of Paul Dudley's milestones dated 1735, inscribed, "Five miles to Boston town-house."

Opposite the intersection of Centre and South Streets, well back from the thoroughfare, stands the Greenough mansion, a large, square, old-fashioned, roomy edifice, in which lived the Tory, Commodore Joshua Loring. It is said to have been framed in England, and occupies the site of a dwelling purchased of Loring by Mr. Pemberton, who gave it to the

parish for a parsonage, and who removed it to the spot where Dr. Weld resided, near the Unitarian Church. The estate, formerly John Polley's, was bought by Loring, in 1752, of the heirs of Joshua Cheever, of Charlestown. In May, 1775, the house was the headquarters of Gen. Nathaniel Greene. In June it was occupied for a short time by Capt. Pond's company from Wrentham, but was soon converted into a hospital for the Roxbury camp. After the siege it was leased by the selectmen to Hon. William Phillips. Just back of the house



THE LORING HOUSE.

a number of American soldiers who died of disease were buried. Their remains were in 1867 removed to the cemetery in the westerly part of the town.

In accordance with the act of the General Court of April 30, 1779, to confiscate the estates of "notorious conspirators," Loring's "large mansion house, convenient out-houses, gardens planted with fruit trees, together with about sixty-five acres of mowing land," were sold at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern, in King Street, in June, the purchaser being the noted Col. Isaac Sears. From Sears it passed to the Widow Ann Doane, who in 1784 married David Stoddard Greenough, son of Thomas Greenough, a member of the Revolutionary Committee of Correspondence, whose sessions had at

one time been held in the Loring house. It is still owned and occupied by the Greenough family, and taken in connection with its surroundings, is, in spite of its age, hardly surpassed by any of its more modern neighbors. Col. David Henley, who had charge of Burgoyne's captive army while at Cambridge, occupied the house about that time. The handsome Town Hall stands upon a portion of this estate. It was dedicated in August, 1868, on which occasion an interesting historical address was delivered by Hon. Arthur W. Austin.

The Loring family has the distinction of having been the only one of any prominence, among the natives of Roxbury, that adhered to the royal cause during the Revolutionary struggle. Joshua, who built this house in 1760, learned the tanner's trade with James Mears on Roxbury Street, but when of age went to sea, rose to the command of a privateer, and having been taken by the French in August, 1744, was for some months a prisoner in Louisburg. On Dec. 19, 1757, he was commissioned a captain in the British navy, was commodore of the naval forces on Lakes Champlain and Ontario, and participated in the capture of Quebec under Wolfe, and in the conquest of Canada in the succeeding campaigns of Amherst. He was severely wounded in the leg while in command on Lake Ontario, and at the close of the war retired on half pay, at which time he settled down at Jamaica Plain.

When the charter of Massachusetts was altered, and the right to choose members of the governor's council was taken from the people and vested in the crown, Gen. Gage, by a writ of mandamus, appointed Loring to the office, and on Aug. 17, 1774, he was sworn in as one of Gage's select council. Gage's appointees were immediately subjected to the strictest surveillance, and the greatest pressure brought to bear upon them to induce them to throw up the obnoxious office. A diarist, under date of Aug. 29, speaking of a Rox-

bury town meeting recently held, says: "Late in the evening a member waited upon Commodore Loring, and in a friendly way advised him to follow the example of his townsman, Isaac Winslow (who had already resigned). He desired time to consider of it. They granted it, but acquainted him if he did not comply he must expect to be waited on by a larger number, actuated by a different spirit. His principal apprehension was that he should lose his half pay." This fear seems to have determined him, for on March 30, 1775, the Provincial Congress denounced Joshua Loring and other "irreconcilables" as implacable enemies to their country, and every town was ordered to enter their names as such upon its records.

On the morning of the Lexington battle, after passing most of the previous night in consultation with Deacon Joseph Brewer, his neighbor and intimate friend, upon the step he was about to take, he mounted his horse, left his house and everything belonging to it, and pistol in hand rode at full speed to Boston, stopping on the way only to answer an old friend, who asked, "Are you going, commodore?" "Yes," he replied, "I have always eaten the king's bread, and always intend to." The sacrifice must have been especially painful to him, as he is said to have deemed the cause of his countrymen just, but did not believe they could succeed.

He received a pension from the crown until his decease at Highgate, England, in October, 1781, at the age of sixty-five. Mary, his widow, the daughter of Samuel Curtis, of Roxbury, also died in England, at the age of eighty. Their son, Joshua, Jr., in 1769 married, at the house of Col Hatch in Dorchester, Miss Elizabeth Lloyd, of Boston. This is the man who, as deputy commissary of prisoners at New York, made himself so detested by his brutal indifference to the comfort of his unfortunate countrymen who were prisoners. In August, 1776, he wrote to Col. Hatch that he expected to

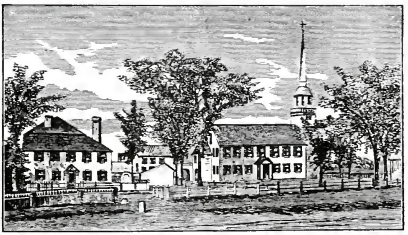
spend the winter in Roxbury, and should clean up his house there for his place of residence. To the very last, the loyalists seem to have deluded themselves with the idea that the rebellion was a failure, and that they should soon reap the reward of all their loyal sacrifices. His son, Sir John Wentworth Loring, born in Roxbury, became an admiral in the British navy, and another, Henry, died archdeacon of Calcutta in 1832.

Col. Sears, who succeeded Loring, like him had commanded a privateer in the French war, and was afterwards a successful merchant in New York. He was one of the most active and zealous of the Sons of Liberty, so much so that he was popularly called "King" Sears, and was at one time a member of the Provincial Congress. Active throughout the contest, at its close his business and his property had disappeared. In 1785 he sailed with a venture for Canton, as supercargo, but was taken ill with fever, and died there in October, 1786, at the age of fifty-six.

The Third, or Jamaica Plain, Parish Church, opposite the Soldiers' Monument, owes its origin to Mrs. Susanna, wife of Benjamin Pemberton, who occupied the mansion now Mr. Calvin Young's. Her husband engaged heartily in the project, and had the edifice erected principally at his own expense. It was raised, in September, 1769, upon land bequeathed to the town by the apostle Eliot, and on the 31st of the following December, the first sermon was preached in the unfinished structure by the Rev. Joseph Jackson, of Brookline. The present handsome building, which stands on the corner of Centre and Eliot Streets, occupies the site of the first, which contained thirty-four square pews, and three long seats for the poor on each side the broad aisle next the pulpit, and a gallery. The original building was sold by the parish to Mr. S. M. Weld, who removed it to the opposite side of Eliot Street, the spot now occupied by Eliot Hall. Remodelled as a stable, it was nearly ready for occupancy

when, on May 24, 1853, it was destroyed by fire. The house was first warmed in January, 1805, by the introduction of an iron stove placed at the head of the broad aisle. In 1832 the first organ-music was heard here, the instrument having been made by Mr. William Goodrich, of Cambridge.

In 1820 the house was enlarged and repaired, thirty pews being added on the lower floor, and ten in the galleries. Sir William Pepperell presented a Bible for the use of the pul-



THE THIRD CHURCH AND PARSONAGE.

pit in 1772, at which time he resided in the mansion of Gov. Bernard. In 1783, John Hancock purchased the bell which had been recently taken down from the New Brick Church, Boston, and gave it to this church. This, the first bell placed in its steeple, was removed in 1821 upon the purchase of a new and larger one. The first bore this inscription: "Thomas Lester, of Londen, made me, 1742." Its weight was three hundred and forty-two pounds, its cost three hundred thirty-three dollars and thirty-three cents. Hancock proposed at this time to send to England for a larger and better bell, but the parish thought best to secure "the bird in the hand," and it was well they did.

The Third Parish or precinct, comprising thirty-five persons with their estates, — thirteen members, — was organized on

Dec. 11, 1760; was incorporated in 1772: and on July 6th of that year, Rev. William Gordon, after having preached to the society one year, was installed as "pasture," — so says the record. In May, 1773. nine persons with their estates, Mr. Pemberton at their head. all belonging to the First or lower Parish, were, by an Act of the General Court, separated from that and united to the Third Parish, an act which was opposed by that parish, as appears by a printed memorial presented to the General Court. Before this time, it had formed part of the Second or upper Parish, then under Rev. Nathaniel Walter, the limits of which did not extend above eighty rods below the spot the church now occupies. During the siege, the First Parish meeting-house being occupied by the American troops, town meetings were held here. The sessions of the General Court were also held here in the spring of 1778, on account of the prevalence of small-pox in Boston, Dr. Gordon officiating as chaplain. When, in the later years of the war, the currency became so alarmingly depreciated, the Doctor got the consent of his people to pay him his salary, nominally £15,000, in produce at peace prices, — a great relief to him, and no disadvantage to his parishioners.

After Dr. Gordon's return to England in 1786, the pastorate was vacant for seven years, and until the settlement of Rev. Thomas Gray. The war had impoverished the people, and the parish, small as it then was, felt the burden so severely that the pulpit was only occasionally supplied. The great patron of the parish, Mr. Pemberton, having upon a trivial account become offended with Dr. Gordon, had, by will, left his entire property, including the church itself and most of the pews in it, in trust for the benefit of the poor of the town of Boston. He had previously promised that he would bequeath it to the parish for the sole support of its future ministers. It was pressed also by Dr. Gordon for arrears of salary due him. Under the long and successful pastorate of Dr. Gray, all existing difficulties were overcome, and prosperity and harmony were established.

The succession of pastors of this church has been: —

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| William Gordon, D. D. | Ord. 6 July, 1772. | Dis. 17 March, 1786. | |
| Thomas Gray, D. D. | " 27 Mar., 1793. | Died 1 June | 1847. |
| George Whitney. | " 10 Feb., 1836. | " 2 April, | 1842. |
| Joseph H. Allen. | " 18 Oct., 1843. | Dis. 21 Feb., | 1847. |
| Grindall Reynolds. | " 1848. | " | 1858. |
| James W. Thompson, D. D. | " 1859. | | |
| Charles F. Dole. | " 1875. | | |

The parsonage house was purchased by Mr. Pemberton in 1760 of Commodore Loring, and removed from the site since occupied by the Greenough mansion, to the corner of Centre and Monument Streets, the recent residence of Dr. C. M. Weld. After Dr. Gray's family left the old house in 1851 it was sold and moved to South Street, adorned for the sacrifice with a coat of yellow paint, and it became the habitation of Irish families. A few years later its gentility was lowered still another peg, and it again took up the line of march, this time towards the gas-house, where it still remains on the west side of Keyes Street, but bearing no resemblance to its former self.

Rev. William Gordon, a native of Hitchin, England, had, prior to coming to Boston, been settled over a large independent society in Ipswich, England, and more recently at Old Gravel Lane, Wapping. His partiality to the cause of American liberty induced him to emigrate in 1770, and two years later he settled in Jamaica Plain as its first pastor. This connection was, after fourteen years of harmony and union, dissolved, and Gordon left for England on March 17, 1786, that he might publish his history of the American Revolution on more favorable terms than in this country.

The materials for this work, which he published in London in 1788, were gathered from the papers of Washington, Greene, Knox, and other prominent actors in the war for independence. He began their collection in 1776, and his narrative is minute, and in general faithful. Its value was impaired, so it is said, by the expurgation of such passages

as it was supposed might endanger prosecution in England. Dr. Gordon was a warm partisan of the Revolution, and took an active part in public measures. Made chaplain to the Provincial Congress, May 4, 1775, that body voted him a good horse for the service, also free access to all prisoners of war, and commissioned him to obtain Gov. Hutchinson's letter books, then in the hands of Capt. McLane, of Milton. "The alacrity with which," says Mr. J. S. Loring, "Gordon ambled on his gentle bay horse for this purpose, in his short breeches and buckled shoes, his reverend wig and three-cornered hat, was worthy the spirit of a native-born patriot."

Gordon's manners were rude and blunt. His warmth of temper and lack of prudence and judgment embroiled him with Mr. Pemberton, the patron of the society, with whom he had a silly squabble, and also with Gov. Hancock, which led to the latter's removal from Roxbury. While chaplain to Congress, he preached a Fast sermon strongly expressing his political sentiments. He attacked, in a most pungent manner, Article V of the proposed Constitution of Massachusetts, a matter that, as a foreigner, it would have been more prudent for him to have let alone. This article, published on April 2, 1778, was immediately followed by his summary dismissal from his office of chaplain to both houses of the Legislature. This dismissal gave great umbrage to the Doctor, and the more so as many of his particular friends, and some even who were boarders with him, voted for the measure. The closing years of his life were passed at Ipswich, England, where he died in extreme poverty on Oct. 19, 1807, aged seventy-seven. Though not particularly interesting as a preacher, he was popular, and was facetious and social in disposition.

He was the zealous champion of the negro race, and in numerous vigorously written newspaper articles called attention to the absurdity as well as injustice of holding them in slavery while carrying on the struggle for liberty. In one

of these, after quoting from the Virginia "Declaration of Rights," "All men are born free and independent," he says, "If these are our genuine sentiments, and we are not provoking the Deity by acting hypocritically to serve a turn, let us apply earnestly and heartily to the extirpation of slavery from among ourselves." In another paper he asks this pertinent question: "Was Boston the first port on the continent that begun the slave-trade, and are they not the first shut up by an oppressive act?"

John Adams expresses his opinion of Gordon thus: "He is an eternal talker and somewhat vain, and not accurate nor judicious; very zealous in the cause, and a well-meaning man, but incautious; fond of being thought a man of influence at headquarters; he is a good man, but wants a guide." The Doctor, calling one morning on Mr. Pemberton, fastened his horse to the front fence, which had been newly painted. The latter requested him to remove him to a tree near by, which the Doctor declined doing. Mr. Pemberton then called his servant and ordered him to do it. Dr. Gordon peremptorily forbade him, and, on Mr. Pemberton's repeating his order, left the house. Mr. Pemberton refused during his last illness to converse with or to see the Doctor.

Joseph Curtis used to relate that the Doctor had a ready hand in applying the birch to the young catechists, of whom he was one. After punishing several of them one severe winter's day, his feet slipped from under him as he stepped from the icy threshold of the school, and he fell at full length, his hat and wig rolling off his head. Thereupon, says Curtis, "we shouted in high glee, and gave three cheers." This was the Doctor's last appearance in that character.

Rev. Thomas Gray, second pastor, was born in Boston, March 16, 1772, and graduated at Harvard College in 1790. He married a daughter of Rev. Samuel Stillman, of Boston, by whom he was prepared for the ministry, and began to preach here on April 22, 1792. The parish, then small and

poor, contained only fifty-four families. For seven years it had been without a minister, and even without the regular observance of ordinances, and the leading member of it, from some trifling cause, had withdrawn his support. For more than half a century he labored here, and left the society prosperous and united.

"Fifty years since," says Dr. Gray, in his half-century discourse, "I preached my first sermon to this society. The fulfilment of previous engagements alone prevented my remaining then, as requested. The small-pox had broken out in the mean time, and in the general alarm the doors of the church were closed till November 11, when I resumed my ministry here, and accepted a call on the twenty-fourth day of the next month to settle down in this place with a small handful of people, a people of exhausted means but of noble hearts, and here I have ever since continued."

Social and full of anecdote, Dr. Gray was greatly beloved by his parishioners. As a preacher he was practical, agreeable, and often effective. But it was as a pastor, in the faithful and affectionate oversight of his flock, that his chief excellence lay. Two of his valuable historical discourses have been printed: a "Half-Century Sermon," 1842; "Notice of Rev. John Bradford, and sketch of Roxbury Churches," 1825.

Upon the triangular piece of ground in front of the Unitarian Church, the gift of John Ruggles, where the Soldiers' Monument stands, the first schoolhouse in Jamaica Plain was erected in 1676. The present house on Eliot Street is the fourth school building, and was dedicated on Jan. 17, 1832. The principal benefactors of the school were Hugh Thomas, who, in 1676, gave to the town for this purpose all his real estate besides other property, and Rev. John Eliot, who, in 1689, gave it seventy-five acres of land. The Eliot School, named from the latter donor, was not incorporated until 1804. The monument erected in 1871 is of Quincy granite in the Gothic style, and is surmounted by the figure of a soldier. Upon a marble tablet within the arches at its base are the

In Memory of the Men of West Roxbury who died in the Service of their Country during the Rebellion of 1861–65.

*Erected by the Town of West Roxbury, A.D. 1871.*

names of the men of West Roxbury who fell in the war for the Union. At a meeting in West Roxbury in 1862, it was proposed to lay out a new road: but on motion of John C. Pratt, it was resolved "that the only road desirable to be laid out at the present time is the road to Richmond," and the town gave eighty-six thousand dollars for war purposes, to which private subscriptions added twenty-two thousand dollars.

In the rear of the church, on a part of the original parish lot, is the cemetery, established in 1785. It was laid out in spite of Dr. Gordon's efforts to prevent it, as injurious to the public health, the Doctor also insisting that the parish had no legal right to use the land for that purpose. Within its area are twenty-four tombs. Comparatively few interments have been made here since the consecration of Forest Hills Cemetery. One of the gravestones is thus inscribed: "In memory of Capt. Lemuel May, died Nov. 19, 1805, æ sixty-seven." This patriot, who was a lieutenant of Roxbury minute-men at the Lexington battle, resided on May Street, and was the son of Benjamin May, who lived on the corner of Pond Street.

On the right, just above the Monument on Centre Street, is a large square mansion having ample grounds around it, with fine shade trees in its front, the residence of Mr. Moses Williams. This gentleman, who enjoys the distinction of being the oldest living male native of Roxbury, is still hale and vigorous, and preserves his memory and other faculties in a remarkable degree. The house, which is on a part of the Eliot School land, was built by Stephen Gorham. About the year 1807, Mr. John Andrews bought it and resided here until his death in 1821. Mr. Andrews, who was a merchant and a selectman of Boston, was quite an object of interest to the boys and girls of the neighborhood, as on every 'lection day it was his custom to bring out a huge bag of copper cents for them to scramble for. He has a still better claim to our regard as the author of the diary recently given to the public, and containing a most interesting and lifelike picture

of Boston and its inhabitants a little more than a century ago. "As an evidence," says Mr. Williams, "that real estate does not always rise in value, Mr. Gorham bought this lot in 1804, containing eight acres, for three thousand three hundred and thirty-three dollars. The house and stable, built in 1805, costing him fourteen thousand dollars, I bought for six thousand, in 1833. So dull were estates and hard to rent at that time, that the house was shut up, and without a tenant for two years previous to my moving in in 1832."

Next to Mr. Williams's was the country seat of John Hancock after he resigned the presidency of Congress, more recently the estate of the late Nathaniel Curtis, and now the home of Mr. Curtis's widow. It was bought by Hancock of Dr. Lemuel Hayward, who received for it seven or eight shares in Long Wharf, then valued at only fifty dollars a share, but which at the doctor's decease were appraised at one hundred thousand dollars. The present house was built in the year 1800, by Thomas Hancock, nephew of the governor, whose cottage of one story and a half occupied the ground in front of it. One who saw Gov. Hancock in June, 1782, while a resident of Jamaica Plain, relates that: —

"Though only forty-five, he had the appearance of advanced age. He had been repeatedly and severely afflicted with the gout, probably owing in part to the custom of drinking punch, a common practice in high circles in those days. He was nearly six feet in height and of thin person, stooping a little, and apparently enfeebled by disease. His manners were very gracious, of the old style of dignified complaisance. His face had been very handsome. Dress was then adapted quite as much to be ornamental as useful. Gentlemen wore wigs when abroad, and commonly caps when at home. At this time, about noon, Hancock was dressed in a red velvet cap, within which was one of fine linen. The latter was turned up over the lower edge of the velvet one two or three inches. He wore a blue damask gown lined with silk, a white stock, white satin embroidered waistcoat, black satin small-clothes, white silk stockings, and red morocco slippers.

"It was a general practice in genteel families to have a tankard of punch made in the morning, and placed in a cooler when the season required it. At this visit, Hancock took from the cooler standing on the hearth a full tankard, and drank first himself, and then offered it to those present. His equipage was splendid, and such as is not customary at this day. His apparel was handsomely embroidered with gold and silver lace and other decorations fashionable amongst men of fortune at that period, and he rode, especially upon public occasions, with six beautiful bay horses, attended by servants in livery. He wore a scarlet coat with ruffles on his sleeves, which soon became the prevailing fashion; and it is related of Dr. Nathan Jacques, of West Newbury, the famous pedestrian, that he walked all the way to Boston in one day to procure cloth for a coat like that of Hancock, and returned with it under his arm and on foot."

Hancock's removal from Jamaica Plain to Boston was occasioned by a quarrel with Rev. Dr. Gordon, which arose in this wise. He had been treasurer of Harvard College from 1773 to 1777, and had neglected to adjust his account, greatly to the detriment of the institution. At a meeting of the overseers, of whom Dr. Gordon was one, that gentleman spoke his mind upon the singular neglect of the treasurer so plainly and in so gross a manner as to mortally offend Hancock, who ceased all intercourse with him, and at once removed to Boston.

Dr. Lemuel Hayward, of whom Hancock bought the place, a native of Braintree, studied medicine under Dr. Joseph Warren, and establishing himself in practice at Jamaica Plain, continued there until his removal to Boston in 1783. Appointed in June, 1775, a surgeon in the General Hospital, occupying the Loring house for this purpose, he served in that capacity until the British troops evacuated Boston. He then, in partnership with Dr. Jonathan Davies, of Roxbury, began the practice of inoculation for the small-pox. He retired from the profession, in which he acquired a high reputation, in 1798, and died in Boston on March 20, 1821.

Nathaniel Curtis, an eminent merchant of Boston, a man

of strict integrity and sound judgment, resided here from 1819 until his death, April 7, 1857, aged eighty-three. He was fifth in descent from William, of Roxbury, and in the maternal line descended from William Mullins, one of the "Mayflower" Pilgrims. He represented the town in the Legislature for four years, and in the State Constitutional Convention of 1820, and was for many years treasurer of the Third Church and a trustee of the Eliot School. On the estate beyond, is the house built in 1774, in the West Indian style, of only one story, by Capt. Timothy Penney, of Jamaica, who occupied it until his return to that island about the year 1789. It was raised and enlarged by subsequent owners. Long the property of George Hallet, and afterwards of Capt. Crowell Hatch, it is now occupied by Mrs. Walker's school.

At the corner of May Street, formerly Lowder's Lane, is the estate of Mr. T. W. Seaverns, formerly the Bridge estate. Edward Bridge was one of the first settlers of the town, and a very old house is yet standing on the place. West of it, on May Street, is the farm bought in 1771 by Capt. Lemuel May. The old farm-house upon it had been used for barracks, and was, when he bought it, greatly in need of repair. His grandson, Benjamin May, now occupies and tills the farm which formerly included a portion of the hill south of May Street, upon which Messrs. Dixwell, Bowditch, Parsons, and others have built elegant residences. Capt. Charles Brewer, whose mother was a daughter of Capt. May, resides on a part of the estate fronting on Pond Street. The elevation to the west was known a century ago as Dana's Hill.

On the southwest side of Jamaica Pond, fronting also on Pond Street, were situated the mansion and estate of sixty acres belonging to Sir Francis Bernard, the royal governor of Massachusetts from 1760 to 1769, a period of surpassing historical interest. This was and still is a most lovely spot, and here, but for the gathering clouds which darkened the political horizon, the remaining years of this scholarly and

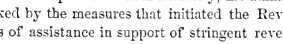
able representative of King George might have passed in the enjoyment of all that seems most desirable in life, — a delightful home, set in a lovely landscape, and the esteem and regard of the people he had governed. His extensive and beautiful grounds were filled with choice fruit trees, plants, and shrubs, including one hundred orange and lemon trees, besides fig, cork, cinnamon, and other rare exotics. After Bernard, the second Sir William Pepperell occupied the premises until he too quitted the country for political reasons. This advertisement shortly afterward appeared in the "Boston Gazette" of March 10, 1775, but the times were not propitious for a sale, and the property soon changed hands without that formality:

"To be leased, a farm in Roxbury, lately occupied by Sir William Pepperell, on Jamaica Pond. It contains sixty acres of land, a dwelling-house of three floors, with four rooms to each, a building containing an elegant hall twenty-four by fifty, a green-house, stables, coach, and other out-houses."

Then came the siege and the occupation of loyalist dwellings by the patriot troops, Bernard's being the quarters of Col. Miller, of Rhode Island, in the summer of 1775. Afterward it was used as a hospital for the camp at Roxbury. The soldiers who died here were buried near a small fish-pond, on elevated ground some distance back from the buildings. This was obliterated by the plough many years since. To make it all the hotter for the enemy, the governor's hot-house was taken by Major Crane and converted into a magazine for the artillery. Confiscated by the State in 1779, the property was bought by Martin Brimmer, a Boston merchant, who died here in 1804. Capt. John Prince, who purchased it in 1806, in 1809 took down and removed the old house, a part of which had stood one hundred and forty-one years, and in which, no doubt, many a bumper of good wine had been drunk to the health of the seven sovereigns of Great Britain who had reigned during that period. Capt. Prince made a road through the property from Pond Street to Perkins Street, afterwards

dividing the whole into good-sized building lots, on many of which elegant residences have since been erected. In front of the mansion house, now owned by Mr. J. S. Robinson, are some fine, large English elms probably planted by Gov. Bernard. One of these measures twenty-five feet in circumference.

A native of England and a graduate of Oxford, Francis Bernard chose the law for a profession, and after having for two years satisfactorily governed New Jersey was, at the age of forty-six, appointed governor of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, and arrived in Boston on Aug. 3, 1760. The zealous champion of British authority, his administration was marked by the measures that initiated the Revolution. The writs of assistance in support of stringent revenue laws; the



Stamp Act, which, however, he opposed; the introduction of troops to overawe the town of Boston, — these and other like measures caused the people to hold Bernard in detestation, and greatly weakened their attachment to the mother country. Evidences of his duplicity were not wanting. While professing himself a friend to the province, he was endeavoring to undermine its constitution, and was constantly importuning the ministry to send troops hither, while giving the strongest assurances to the contrary. When in August, 1765, the Stamp Act riots occurred, Bernard, deserting his post, "hurried trembling to the castle," says the historian Bancroft, "but could not, even within its strong walls, get rid of his fears, and a few days later gave way to the popular demands without dignity or courage."

The seizure of John Hancock's sloop "Liberty," for alleged infraction of the revenue laws, was the occasion of a town meeting at the "Old South" on the 14th of June, 1768, at which an address to the governor was agreed on, and

twenty-one men appointed to deliver it. Late in the afternoon of the 15th of June, the day succeeding the meeting, the quiet country-seat of the governor at Jamaica Plain was invaded, not indeed by a noisy mob of rioters intent upon blood and rapine, but by a peaceful procession, consisting of eleven chaises. "Mr. Hancock with the moderator, Royal Tyler, Esq., leading the van in his phaeton, making a splendid appearance." Among the "highly respectable" committee of twenty-one who alighted at the governor's door were Hancock, Otis, Warren, Samuel Adams, and Josiah Quincy.

"I received them," says Bernard, "with all possible civility, and having heard their petition I talked very freely with them, but postponed giving a formal answer till the next day, as it should be in writing. I then had wine handed round, and they left me, highly pleased with their reception, especially that part of them," he significantly adds, "which had not been used to an interview with me." In his answer, Bernard promised to stop impressment; but his very next move was to have British regiments ordered to Boston. The arrival and landing of these troops when, as Dr. Byles punningly put it, "our grievances were red dressed," is described in a letter from Col. Dalrymple, their commanding officer, to Commodore Hood, dated at Boston in October, 1768. This officer's estimate of Bernard's character corresponds exactly with that of his "rebel" opponents.

"The governor prudentially retired to the country," says Dalrymple, "and left me to take the whole on myself. I encamped the Twenty-Ninth Regiment immediately; the Fourteenth remained without cover. By tolerable management I got possession of Faneuil Hall, the school of liberty, from the sons thereof, without force, and thereby secured all their arms; and I am much in fashion, visited by Otis, Hancock, Rowe, etc., who cry *peccavi!* and offer exertions for the public service, in hopes by this means to ruin the governor by exposing his want of spirit and zeal for the public advantage."

Of Bernard he says: —

"It is beyond the power of my pen to paint anything so abject. Far from being elated that the hands of government were rendered so respectable, he deplored the arrival of letters that made his setting out improper, and with earnest looks he followed a ship that he had hired for his conveyance, and in which he declared his fixed intention of going the moment the troops arrived. His actions were entirely of a piece with his words, for on a requisition for quarters he declared himself without power or authority in his province.

"By what I have related," says Commodore Hood, in a letter to Mr. Grenville containing the above extracts, "you will plainly see how matters stand, and how little is to be expected from Gov. Bernard. I have long and often lamented his timid conduct, and yet would not willingly bring on him more contempt than he must of course feel when the duplicity of his behavior is brought to light. Mr. Bernard is without doubt a sensible man, but he has a vast deal of low cunning which he has played off upon all degrees of people to his own disgrace. His doubles and turnings have been so many that he has altogether lost his road and brought himself into great contempt. I am sorry it was not in my power to comply with his request for a ship to convey him to England, for most certainly the sooner he is out of America the better."

His recall to England came unexpectedly. True to his character he remained, vainly trying to get an appropriation for a year's salary. He left his seat in Roxbury on July 31, 1769, and embarked the next day from the castle, taking with him his third son, Thomas, thus making a timely escape from impending troubles. As he departed the bells were rung, cannon were fired from the wharves, Liberty Tree was gay with flags, and at night a great bonfire was kindled upon Fort Hill. He remained nominal governor two years longer, but though rewarded for his services with a baronetcy, he was never again employed, and died in June, 1779. Lady Bernard did not leave Jamaica Plain until December, 1770.

Though upright, and of courteous address, Bernard left few friends in the place where he passed ten years of his life.

He had too little command of his temper, and lacked those mollifying arts which the ferment of the times required. Those of his own household were of the number who afforded amusement by furnishing the most ridiculous representations of his parsimony and domestic meanness. He seldom rode to Boston on Sunday, but commonly attended service at Brookline, where the preacher was, as he said, shorter in his services than most Puritanical divines. and in particular, than the Roxbury minister (Adams). He had fine conversational talents, an extensive knowledge of books, and a memory so tenacious that he boasted that he could repeat the whole of the plays of Shakespeare. He was a friend to literature, and gave to Harvard College a large part of his private library. This passage from his favorite author must in his latter days often have occurred to him: —

> "My way of life
> Is fallen into the sear, the yellow leaf,
> And that which should accompany old age,
> As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends,
> I must not look to have, but in their stead
> Curses not loud, but deep."

One evening at a period when mob law had become somewhat prevalent, the governor heard, not far from his house, riotous noises, and against the remonstrances of his wife, went out to use his good offices, but meeting with some rude rebuffs he returned home, and was thus accosted by his wife: "Husband, have they beat your brains out?" "No, my dear, if I had had any I should have taken your advice and stayed at home." At the king's levee, his Majesty questioned Bernard about the climate of New England. He replied that it was much in extremes, but in general healthy. "I suppose, Sir Francis," said the king, "you found it very warm during your residence there?"

The second Sir William Pepperell, grandson and heir of the distinguished captor of Louisburg, resided here between

1772 and 1775. He graduated at Harvard University in 1766, became a member of the council, and in 1774 was continued in that body under the mandamus of the king, and incurred the odium visited upon those who were thus appointed contrary to the charter, four of whom, Pepperell, Hallowell, Winslow, and Loring, were residents of Roxbury. He went to England in 1775, and as president of the American Board of Loyalists is the prominent figure in West's picture of the reception of these gentlemen, by Great Britain, in 1783. He is here represented in a voluminous wig, a flowing gown, in advance of the other figures, with one hand extended, and nearly touching the crown which lies on a velvet cushion on a table, and holding in the other hand, at his side, a scroll or manuscript, half unrolled. His vast estates having been confiscated, he was allowed £500 per annum by the British government until his death, which occurred in London in 1816.

Next to Gov. Bernard's estate, on the right as you go up Pond Street, was the Whitney estate of nine acres. A handsome stone mansion of the Elizabethan style, the residence of Mrs. Abel Adams, stands on the elevated plain at the rear of the lot. The Whitney house, which stood about a quarter of a mile this side the Brookline line, disappeared nearly a century ago, and on the removal of the family, the property was purchased by the Childs family, whose premises it joined. In the rear of the spot where the old house stood, the ground slopes gradually downward for several rods to a narrow strip of meadow, through which runs a pleasant little brook. Beyond the meadow the ground rises abruptly to an elevation many feet higher than the front of the lot, and still rises gradually, forming a slope of considerable dimensions, and extending westerly to Brookline. West of the brook is a fine grove of forest trees. The name of John, the grandson of John Whitney, the first settler, appears in the list of members of the Second Church when gathered in 1712. Eli

Whitney, the famous inventor of the cotton-gin, Rev. George, pastor of the Second and Third Churches of Roxbury, and Prof. William Dwight Whitney, the distinguished Oriental scholar, all belong to this branch of the Whitney family. Benjamin Child, the common ancestor of most of the name in Roxbury, Brookline, Boston, and Woodstock, Conn., settled on the estate between Whitney's and the Brookline boundary, owned until recently by his descendants, and died in 1678. Besides his house and barn, he had eighty acres "conveniently adjoining to y^e s^d housing."

A century ago Capt. Lemuel Child kept the Peacock Tavern, a somewhat noted resort at the westerly corner of Centre and Allandale Streets, near the famous mineral springs of that name. When the British officers were in Boston they frequently made up skating parties for the suppers, and after exercising at the pond would ride over and partake of the good cheer of the Peacock. Upon one of these occasions, so says tradition, the pretty "maid of the inn," afterwards Mrs. William Williams, a niece of the innkeeper, was followed by one of these gay young bloods into the cellar, whither she had gone for supplies for the table. Being familiar with the premises, she blew out the lighted candle she held in her hand and made her escape, not forgetting to fasten the cellar door behind her. After thumping his head against the rafters in the vain effort to follow her, her persecutor was finally obliged to alarm the house before he could be released from his awkward predicament. Washington, Knox, and other distinguished officers were frequent visitors during the siege, the former stopping here on his way to New York after the evacuation of Boston. Capt. Michael Cresap, of the Virginia riflemen, immortalized in the celebrated speech of Logan, the Indian chief, lay here sick in September, 1775. Child led the minute company of the Third Parish in the Lexington battle. In the wall opposite is another of Paul Dudley's milestones, — "6 miles to Boston. P. Dudley, 1735."

The son of Samuel Adams bequeathed to him his claims for services as surgeon during the Revolutionary war, and in May, 1794, the patriot expended a considerable portion of the amount in the purchase of the Peacock Tavern estate and forty acres of land with the buildings thereon, "late the property of Lemuel Child." Here the aged patriot resided during his gubernatorial term, and for the brief remainder of his days made it a summer residence. It was commonly said that had not the death of an only son relieved his latter-day poverty, Samuel Adams would have been obliged to claim a burial at the hand of charity or at the public expense.

Samuel Adams, the author of the scheme that organized the Revolution, — the committees of correspondence, — was of common size, with a muscular form, light blue eyes, light complexion, and was erect in person. He wore a tie wig, cocked hat, and red cloak. His manner was very serious. At the close of his life and probably from his early days he had a tremulous motion of the head, which probably added to the solemnity of his eloquence, as this was in some measure associated with his voice. Duponceau, the eminent jurist, who, while at Boston as secretary to Baron Steuben, made the acquaintance of many distinguished persons, relates this anecdote. "I shall never forget," he says, "the compliment paid me by Samuel Adams on his discovering my republican principles. 'Where,' said he 'did you learn all that?' 'In France,' I replied. 'In France? that is impossible.' Then recovering himself, he added, 'Well, because a man was born in a stable it is no reason why he should be a horse.' 'I thought to myself,' adds the polite Frenchman, 'that in matters of compliment they ordered these things better in France.'"

# CHAPTER XII.

## WEST ROXBURY.

Localities. — South Street. — S. M. Weld. — Weld Farm. — Benjamin Bussey. — Taft's. — Capt. Joseph Mayo. — Walter Street. — Rev. Nathaniel Walter. — Col. Henley. — Central Burying-Ground. — Col. William Dudley's Residence. — Second Church. — Draper. — Westerly Burying-Ground. — Theodore Parker's Residence. — Aaron D. Weld Farm. — Brook Farm. — Residents in 1820-5.

WEST ROXBURY seems to have been originally known as "Jamaica End and Spring Street," a territory afterwards embraced in the Second Parish and lying west of a line extending from Walk Hill Street to Brookline, and intersecting the southwestern extremity of Jamaica Pond. The several localities embraced within its limits are in the northeast, Jamaica Plain and Pond, bordering upon Brookline, a region abounding in lovely landscapes and charming villas; the Bussey Farm, a large tract lying between South and Centre Streets, upon which the Agricultural Institution stands; Canterbury to the south, adjoining Dorchester, with its beautiful cemeteries of Forest Hills and Mount Hope; Roslindale and Clarendon Hills, centrally situated, also picturesque and attractive, and already dotted with suburban residences; while in the west, bordering upon Dedham, are Muddy Pond, with its aboriginal woods, West Roxbury Village, and Spring Street, so named for its springy characteristics; Cow Island, a territory partly overflowed by Charles River; and Brook Farm, once the scene of the most famous of American socialist experiments. Muddy Pond Hill, the highest elevation in Roxbury, has lately been rechristened

"Mount Bellevue." Upon its summit the city of Boston has erected an observatory, whence may be obtained an extensive view of the harbor and of the surrounding country.

Notwithstanding oft-repeated attempts at emancipation, West Roxbury was long subjected to the political and ecclesiastical domination of the easterly parish, by which it was largely outvoted in town meeting. In June, 1777, the Second Parish voted unanimously to join with the Third in a petition to the General Court that the two might be set off as a district to be called "Washington." No action was taken upon this petition. A final and successful effort resulted in its incorporation as a separate municipality in May, 1851, mainly through the exertions of Hon. Arthur W. Austin and a few other influential citizens, backed by the persuasive eloquence of Rufus Choate. This event, so interesting to its people, was, on the evening of June 3, 1851, joyfully celebrated amid the firing of cannon, the display of fire-works, and the blaze of bonfires.

South Street was described in 1663, as "that highway leading out of Dedham highway by John Polley's home lott, and so along by John Weld's farm, and so leading to Bear Marsh," the latter being the name given to the territory embracing the meadows upon the head waters of Stony Brook. It is most irregular in form, running first due south, and then northwest, its circuitous windings beginning at the Third Church, and terminating opposite the Second. Its southerly bend, at Roslindale, makes a part of Washington Street.

Before coming to John Weld's farm, the old homesteads of John May, Jr., William Davis, William Lion, and Henry Bowen lay on our right, and on Centre Street, west of May, was that of William Linkhorne. These were subsequently the property of Nathaniel Brewer, whose descendants lived here until 1790, when the estate was sold by Joseph Brewer to John Goddard. John May, Jr., son of John the emigrant, in 1656 married Sarah, the sister of Nathaniel Brewer,

and died in 1671. About the year 1832, Stephen M. Weld bought a large square house, built by William Lovering, of Boston, at the triangle formed by the junction of Centre and South Streets. It was burned down some twenty years afterward, and Mr. Weld built upon its site the present dwelling-house, now owned and occupied by his surviving family. This triangle two centuries ago was opposite the "home lott" of John Polley, and embraced the homesteads above mentioned.

Hon. Stephen Minot Weld, grandson of Col. Eleazer Weld, was born in Boston in 1806, graduated at Harvard in 1826, and for thirty years taught a boarding-school, which he established at the Plain in 1827. In this vocation he was remarkably successful, his pupils coming from all parts of the United States and from Mexico, Cuba, Yucatan, and even from Smyrna. Mr. Weld was shrewd and sagacious in investing his money, buying large lots of land in Jamaica Plain, which were then of little value, realizing a handsome profit by sales from time to time, and at the time of his death in December, 1867, owned considerable real estate and other property in the town. Though he would never be a candidate for any place to be filled by a popular election, he held many responsible public trusts, and was remarkably energetic and conspicuous in all efforts to aid in the successful prosecution of the war against secession.

The Weld estate, given by the province to Capt. Joseph Weld for important services, was bequeathed by him to his son John, and, after being occupied by seven generations of that family, passed into other hands about the beginning of this century. It lay between Centre and South Streets; Saw-Mill Brook crossed it, and emptied into Stony River near Forest Hills station, about where the toll-house stood. Bussey Street divides the estate into two nearly equal parts, taking you past the locality known as "Bussey's Woods," the scene of the murder of the two children some years ago. A very old farm-house stands near the corner, close to the

railroad crossing, in which it is said Deacon Ezra Davis once lived.

John Weld held the rank of captain, and served in the Pequod war. Just before the 19th of April, 1775, Col. Eleazer Weld, a graduate of Harvard in 1756, and a judge, left the old homestead and settled in Dedham. Early in March, 1776, Weld, with his regiment, was ordered to Roxbury to man the lines in the absence of Thomas's detachment, engaged in the occupation of Dorchester Heights. Weld's Hill, a very conspicuous eminence on this estate, was selected by Washington as a rallying point for the patriot army to fall back upon in case of disaster. "Wales Hill," as this eminence has been erroneously called by Mr. Sparks and others, was an exceedingly eligible position of great natural strength, and its occupation would have effectually protected the road to Dedham, the depot of army supplies. It has been thought strange that the British commanders in Boston should have made no attempt to drive the enemy from their doors. This extract from a letter from Gen. Burgoyne to Lord Rochfort explains the cause of their unwillingness: —

"Look, my Lord, upon the country near Boston; it is all fortification. Driven from one hill, you will see the enemy continually retrenched upon the next, and every step we move must be the slow step of a siege. Could we at last penetrate ten miles perhaps we should not obtain a single sheep or an ounce of flour by our laborious progress, for they remove every article of provisions as they go."

The estate was bought by Benjamin Bussey in 1806, and in 1815 he erected here the fine mansion which he occupied until his death in 1842, since ,that time the residence of Mr. Thomas Motley. He bequeathed this valuable property, then containing some three hundred acres, to Harvard University, for the establishment of a seminary for "instruction in practical agriculture, useful and ornamental gardening, botany, and such other branches of natural science as may tend to

promote a knowledge of practical agriculture and the various arts subservient thereto and connected therewith." Courses of lectures were also to be given. One half the net income is to be applied to maintain the institution, the residue to be equally divided between the Divinity and Law Schools of the University. The Bussey Institute went into operation in 1871. It is built of Roxbury stone, with sandstone trimmings, and in the modern Gothic style.

Mr. Bussey's history affords another illustration of the success almost certain to result from industry and thrift. A native of Stoughton, he learned the trade of a tailor, but at the age of eighteen joined the Dedham company of minute-men, under Capt. Stone. His first service was to aid in the seizure and carrying off of the sheep and cattle from the islands in Boston Harbor, for the use of the patriots. After serving in the Ticonderoga and Saratoga campaigns, he returned home and began the business of a silversmith, in Dedham, with a capital of ten dollars. Industry and strict honesty brought prosperity, and removing in 1792 to Boston, he soon became wealthy.

Having reached the terminus of the Bussey estate we come to the old tavern known till quite recently as "Taft's," and now called the Union Hotel, at the southernmost point of South Street where it touches Washington, near Roslindale. It was built about 1805, the period of the construction of the Dedham Turnpike, when it was kept by Sharp and Dunster, and was long famous for good dinners. The widow of Lemuel Burrill kept here during the war of 1812.

On the right, beyond the tavern, was the Mayo farm of eighty or ninety acres. The Roxbury Mayos are descended from John, a young child brought over in 1633 by Robert Gamblin, Jr., and who was the son of his wife by a former husband. He married in 1654 Hannah, daughter of John Graves, and died in 1688. Capt. Joseph Mayo, born in 1721, was his grandson. "Capt. Joseph Mayo, one of your Rox-

bury neighbors," so writes Gov. Hutchinson to Sir Francis Bernard, who had returned to England, "was foreman of the jury at the trial of the soldiers. I am much inclined to make him a major." This he accordingly did, and in 1771 Mayo was appointed to be major of the First Suffolk Regiment. Notwithstanding this and the conservatism he afterwards displayed in the town meeting before referred to, there is no doubt but that he was a good and patriotic citizen. He died early in 1776. April 10, 1775, the records say, "Constable John Davis is ordered in His Majesty's name to warn the Widow Elizabeth Checkley and her daughter, Nancy Checkley, at Major Joseph Mayo's, to depart the town of Roxbury within fourteen days, or give a bond of indemnity. The Checkleys came from Boston last July." As Mrs. Checkley was the widow of Rev. Samuel, a Boston divine, and the mother-in-law of Samuel Adams, we may see that in Roxbury the law was no respecter of persons. An extract from a letter of John Andrews, written in July, 1774, refers to the Checkleys: —

"I forgot formerly to acquaint you that Ruthy (Mrs. Andrews) and I were at Betsey Checkley's wedding, at which we were entertained with a very pretty collation, consisting of cold ham, cold roast beef, cake, cheese, etc. It's about three weeks since her mother and grandmother have retired to the upper end of Roxbury with their families, together with that amiable maiden their cousin, Sally Hatch, and the family with which she resided, so that (including the Roxbury people resident with them) they compose an agreeable, social family of about twenty-five females, with the master of the house, a worthy deacon of the parish."

Walter Street, named for Rev. Nathaniel Walter, formed a part of the original county road to Dedham. On it were located the old church, the burial-ground, and the parsonage. The burial-place is still to be found, but the church which adjoined it on the south, and the parsonage at the easterly corner of Walter and South Streets, are among the things

that were. For many years the latter locality was known as "Cookson's Corner." Rev. Ebenezer Thayer, the first minister of West Roxbury, resided here until his death, when the parsonage, and two acres of land belonging to it, were purchased by his successor.

Rev. Nathaniel Walter, minister of the Second Parish, was the son of Rev. Nehemiah Walter, Eliot's successor, by Sara, daughter of Rev. Increase Mather. He was born Aug. 15, 1711, and graduated at Harvard College in 1729. His wife, Rebecca Abbott, of Brookline, to whom he was married in 1735, died in 1790, with the character of an "uncommonly pious woman." When Dr. Boylston introduced the practice of inoculation for small-pox into Boston, Rev. Cotton Mather, who was its powerful advocate, was violently assailed. "His nephew, Mr. Walter," says a writer of the day, "one of the ministers of Roxbury, having been privately inoculated in the doctor's house, in Boston, a villain, about three o'clock in the morning, set fire to the fuse of a grenade shell filled with combustibles, and threw it into the chamber where he was lying. The fuse was fortunately displaced by the passing of the shell through the window, and the wildfire spent itself upon the floor. It was generally supposed that the bursting of the shell was by that means prevented." Mr. Walter officiated as chaplain to Col. Richmond's regiment in the Lonisburg expedition, and also acted as interpreter for Gen. Pepperell.

His son, Rev. William Walter, a native of Roxbury, was minister of Christ Church, Boston. It was to his house in Charter Street, formerly the Gov. Phips mansion, then unoccupied, that the wounded British Major Pitcairn was brought from Bunker's Hill, and here he shortly afterward expired. Mr. Walter's daughter, who was an eye-witness of this fact, related it to her grandson, S. F. McCleary, city clerk of Boston.

His daughter Sarah married Sir Robert Hesilrige, bart.,

of Leicestershire, England, great-grandnephew of Sir Arthur, the noted parliamentarian and friend of Cromwell. This gentleman, having engaged in mercantile affairs in Boston, had taken up his residence in Roxbury. Their daughter Sarah was married March 12, 1782, to Col. David Henley, of the Continental army; "An event," says the local chronicler, "which occasioned much satisfaction to friends, and was productive of much mutual felicity to the parties united." This may be the more readily believed since the course of their true love did not "run smooth" according to the story told by Col. William Tudor, who defended Henley when tried at the instance of Gen. Burgoyne, for alleged severities to the Saratoga prisoners then under his charge. Tudor says: —

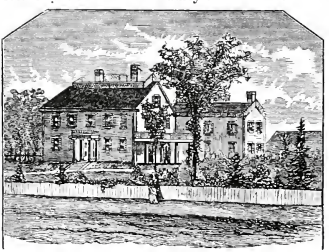
"A day or two after the trial, the judge advocate and Col. Henley met at Roxbury in making a visit to a family where a lady resided to whom Henley was paying his addresses. He fancied himself coldly received, and was in rather a melancholy humor as they rode into town together. In coming over the Neck he abruptly said to his companion, 'Col. Tudor, I will thank you to shoot me.' 'Why, what is the matter now?' 'You have ruined me.' 'I thought I had rendered you some service in the trial.' 'You said I was a man of a passionate, impetuous temper. This has destroyed me in the estimation of the woman I love. You see she received me coldly. You have destroyed my happiness. You may now do me a favor to shoot me.' Mr. Tudor was vexed for a moment at this sort of return for the service he had rendered; but these feelings were transient on both sides, and they continued friends."

The earliest date to be found in the Central or Peter's Hill Burying-Ground on Walter Street is 1722. The principal names are those of Child, Mayo, Weld, Baker, Davis, and Chamberlain. Among the inscriptions are: —

Benjamin Child, Jan. 24, 1723-4, aged 66.
Thomas Bishop, June 29, 1727, aged 82.
John Baker, Nov. 7, 1732, aged 88.
Capt. Jonathan Hale, of Glastonbury, Conn., March 7, 1776, in y^e^ 56th year of his age.

Joshua Child, Jan. 18, 1729-30, æ. 73.
Sarah, wife of Jacob Chamberlain, Oct. 14, 1745, æ. 84.
Elizabeth, wife of Joshua Chield, March 6, 1752, aged 87.
Deacon Ichabod Davis, March 16, 1754, æ. 78.
Lieut. Daniel Weld, Jan. 20, 1761, æ. 64.
Bethiah, wife of Ichabod Davis, April 23, 1768, æ. 92.
Deacon Ezra Davis, March 4, 1784, æ. 74.
Sarah, relict of Deacon Ezra Davis, Feb. 14, 1789, æ. 75.

Between South and Centre Streets, west of Walter, lay the estate formerly Col. William Dudley's. At its southeasterly



DUDLEY HOUSE.

corner, now the estate of Mr. Henry Dudley, stands a very ancient house, in which Deacon Ephraim Murdock, Mr. Dudley's grandfather, resided more than a century ago. Here, in what was then a very retired spot, Col. Dudley settled, about the time of his marriage in 1721, built an elegant mansion, which after successive alterations by its subsequent owners, was finally torn down, and cultivated his extensive farm. The old farm-house is yet standing. In January, 1775, both his sons having deceased, this property, described as "a mansion-house and thirty acres of land both sides of the road to Dedham, seven miles from Boston Town House," was sold. In

1789 Rev. Mr. Bradford bought the house and ten and a half acres for a parsonage. The present dwelling-house is on the site of the old mansion represented in the picture, and is the residence of Mrs. S. D. Bradford.

William, the youngest son of Gov. Joseph Dudley, was born in 1686, graduated at Cambridge in 1704, and though he never practised the law as a profession is said to have been the first educated lawyer of native birth who sat upon the bench of the Court of Common Pleas. Brought early into public life he filled a large space in the political affairs of his time. Sent to Canada when only twenty years of age to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, he succeeded in redeeming among other captives the Rev. John Williams, of Deerfield. In 1710 he acquired considerable reputation as an officer in the expedition against Port Royal (Annapolis), and was colonel of the Suffolk County regiment from that year until his death, Aug. 10, 1743. He also represented Roxbury in the General Court, and was for several years Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a member of the governor's council. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Addington Davenport, he had two sons, Thomas and Joseph. Col. Dudley, like his father and grandfather before him, possessed talents of a high order, and was exceedingly popular. With strong intellectual powers, a brilliant fancy, and a ready

COL. WILLIAM DUDLEY.

elocution. he excelled in debate, and thereby exercised a commanding influence in the public assemblies of which he was a member.

On Centre Street, near South, is the meeting-house of the Second Parish, erected in 1773 on land purchased of Lieut. William Draper. This house, which was enlarged and repaired not many years ago, was the scene of Theodore Par-

THE SECOND CHURCH.

ker's early ministerial labors. The first building occupied by the society stood on Walter Street, and adjoined the old burial-ground on the south. Upon the formation of the Third, or Jamaica Plain parish, from this in 1769, the new society, by previous agreement, contributed to the old the sum of £666 7*s.* 8*d.* to aid it in rebuilding on its present site, a mile or more farther from the Plain. Such of the materials of the old building as were fit for use were employed in the new, and the old sounding-board was painted and transferred to its

present abiding-place. The second, which was a square structure, stood broadside to the road, and had no steeple. In 1821 it was given its present form, and was largely rebuilt.

In 1706 Joseph Weld and forty-four others "at the west end of Roxbury towards Dedham," commonly called "Jamaica End" and "Spring Street," on account of their great distance from the meeting-house, and the "great travail and time in going and returning," prayed the General Court to be made a separate precinct, to be freed from taxes for the old parish, and for aid in building a house. Nothing came of this petition, but it seems that without waiting for leave, they set to work and built a church and formed a congregation, as appears from their petition in the town records. In April, 1711, they sent a "humble address" praying for pardon, to their "fathers and elder brothers" in town meeting assembled, "with a sincere design to give Christian satisfaction for any wrong, disorderly steps in our late proceedings . . . for we humbly acknowledge it to be offensive for us to presume so precipitately and rashly to enterprise and prosecute such an important affair without the consent of the General Court, the approbation of our reverend and dear pastor, and the concurrence of our ancient and honorable mother the church, and the Town Assembly." They again humbly request a dismission, to be a distinct precinct, the line to be on the western side of the river, "to run close by the schoolhouse near the dwelling of our neighbor, John Polley, from the southeast to the northwest, to include all of our Christian neighbors that desire it, and have therefore been at charges hitherto with us, and who are dwellers amongst us." Several excellent reasons are assigned for this request, not the least cogent of which is this: —

"As for the season and opportunity we took for our aboves'd mismanaged enterprise whether this was the time agreeable to the approving will of God, we dare not assert, but the event proves it to be his permissive and determinate will, else it had not been so

far effected: And blessed be God in Christ altho' we have morally erred as to our hasty time and manner thereof: yet having obtained his help, notwithstanding our unworthiness we have been carryed through and continue to this day.

"We subscribe at the western end of Roxbury, Feb. 7th, 1710-1.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| "Nath. Holmes. | Jonathan Curtice. | Timothy Whitney. |
| Isaac Bowen. | Daniel Whitney. | James Griggs. |
| Thomas Mory. | Samuel Holdridge. | Eliphalet Lyon. |
| Ebenezer Lyon. | Thomas Bugbee. | Ichabod Davis. |
| Joseph Weld. | John Case. | John Weld. |
| John Fuller. | Thomas Mayo. | Ephraim Beacon. |
| John Whitney. | Thomas Lyon. | John Curtiss. |
| John Griggs. | Samuel Lyon. | John Parry. |
| Ephraim Lyon. | Peter Hanchet. | Samuel Lyon, Jr. |
| Joseph Lyon. | Nath. Draper. | Joseph Parry. |
| Thomas Parry. | William Lyon. | |

"In answer to the petition it was clearly voted, that their precinct line should begin at the line between Dorchester and Roxbury, where the headline between the first and second division strikes npon the afores'd line, so running down to the river, and then the river to be the bounds untill it comes to the place where the road crosseth it by Isaac Bowen's, running as the way goes to the school house and so to the line between the school land and the land of Josiah Holland and so cross the south end of the great pond to Brookline. And that the petitioners together with all such as dwell on the south side of the afores'd line who are willing to joyne with them, and do embody so as to maintain an able learned Orthodox minister amongst them, shall be freed from any charge to the minister of the east end of the town, and allso from charge to the repairing and sweeping the meeting house so long as they do maintain a minister among them as afores'd and no longer."

This precinct line was probably coincident with a line which should include Walkhill, South, Eliot, and Prince Streets. Having accomplished their purpose, the Second Church, consisting of eighteen members formerly belonging to the First, was gathered on Nov. 2, 1712, and on the 26th, Rev. Ebenezer Thayer, of Boston, was settled over them as their first minister. In 1733 the town refused its assistance in maintaining a minister or repairing the meeting-house in the upper

or westerly part of the town, or even to repair two pews that were damaged. A curious regulation was at this time made, that those who sat by the windows should mend all the broken glass.

The first record extant in the parish book bears date Nov. 28, 1733, when Rev. Mr. Thayer having deceased, a call was extended to Rev. Nathaniel Walter, son of the minister of the First Parish. Notwithstanding the rigidity of manners of that day, various entries show that youth was quite as irrepressible then as now. Four men were at first chosen "to take care of disorderly boys and girls and others at the meeting-house on the Lord's day"; afterwards six were appointed. Mr. Bradford's salary, about the year 1798, was three hundred and thirty-three dollars and thirty-three cents. The pastors of the Second Parish had originally a small salary, — twenty cords of firewood and all "onmarked" money in the contribution-box, and in some cases were entitled to two annual contributions, and sometimes the pastor is to have the "usual contributions."

Pastors of the Second Parish: —

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ebenezer Thayer. | Ord. 26 Nov., 1712. | Died 6 March, 1733. |
| Nathaniel Walter. | " 10 July, 1734. | " 11 March, 1776. |
| Thomas Abbot. | " 29 Sept., 1773. | Dis. 10 March, 1783. |
| John Bradford. | " 30 May, 1785. | Died 27 Jan., 1825. |
| John Flagg. | " 2 Feb., 1825. | " 14 March, 1831. |
| George Whitney. | " 15 June, 1831. | Dis. Feb., 1836. |
| Theodore Parker. | " 21 June, 1837. | " 8 Feb., 1846. |
| Dexter Clapp. | " 20 Dec. 1848. | " 23 Nov., 1851. |
| Edmund B. Willson. | " 18 July, 1852. | " May, 1859. |
| T. B. Forbush. | " 1 July, 1863. | " 8 May, 1868. |
| Augustus M. Haskell. | " 22 May, 1870. | |

Just beyond the church is the residence of Miss Betsey Draper, a portion of which is said to be two hundred years old. Miss Draper, who, at the age of eighty-six, is still active and vigorous, is the granddaughter of Capt. William Draper, who commanded the second company of Roxbury

minute-men at Lexington, and who died in the service while at Ticonderoga in 1776. William, her father, was drummer in his father's company. Moses Draper was a lieutenant in Whiting's company at Lexington; a captain in Gardiner's regiment at Bunker's Hill; captain of a Roxbury company in the suppression of Shays's Insurrection; and was elected colonel of the first Suffolk regiment in 1788. He kept a tavern in 1786 near Dedham.

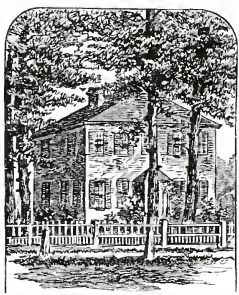
In 1683 the town voted, "That our brethren at Jamaco have liberty to provide a convenient place for a berring place, and y^e^ towne in generall will bare the charge provided the selectmen doe judge the place convenant, and the aforesaid berring place if so provided shall be for any of the towne to bury their dead in if they please." Pursuant to this vote, the westerly burying-ground on Centre Street, near La Grange, was established soon afterward. In it are found the names of Draper, Lyon, Whiting, Healey, Newell, Richards, Herring, and others of the fathers of the town. Among the earlier inscriptions are: —

Mr. James Draper, aged about 73. Dec^d^ July, 1691.
Mrs. Marriam Draper, wife to Mr. James Draper, aged about 77. Dec^d^ Jan., 1691.
John Lyon, aged 55 years, died Jan. y^e^ 15, 1702.
Abigail Lyon, wife to John Lyon, aged 48 years, died Jan. y^e^ 15, 1702. [The same day as her husband.]
James Herring, dec^d^ March, 1732, æ. 76.
John Colburn, died June y^e^ 7, 1732, æ. 57.
Nath'l Healy, died June y^e^ 2, 1734, æ. 76.
Robert Newel, died Feb. 17, 1741, æ. 63.
Mehitabel, wife of Robert Newel, Nov. 4, 1739, aged about 70.

In the house at the corner of Cottage Street, built about 1800 by John Whiting, lived Theodore Parker during his ministry here. It was in 1818 purchased by "The Rain Water Doctor," who signed himself "I, Sylvan, Enemy of Human Diseases," and whose stay was necessarily brief in a commu-

nity not tolerant of quacks. It is now the residence of Mr. James Tilden. Says Mr. Parker's biographer, Mr. John Weiss: —

"The pleasant white house about a mile from the church stood close to the straggling village street, but the study looked out through trees upon flowers, vines, and garden beds. Two fine tulip-trees stood before the windows. The land adjoined the beautiful grounds of Mr. George R. Russell, his parishioner and friend, with whom and whose family he found such refreshment and delight; and next, going up the hill, came the grounds of another good and faithful friend, Mr. Francis G. Shaw. Mr. Parker had a right of way over the pleasantly settled hillside. The hedges defined but did not divide the respective places of his friends. When jaded with the old folios he never failed to find some one at his garden limit in whose attachment his heart recovered strength and joy. The Russells used to have famous visitors. . . . They used to hold 'Olympics,' over which Theodore jovially presided. Sometimes the celestial council met in a barn, where the fresh, fragrant hay, which he had just helped toss and gather, served for the divan. Here Goethe, Fourier, the 'Latest Form of Infidelity,' Emerson's last lecture, and all cosmic questions were discussed."



PARKER'S RESIDENCE.

To a friend Mr. Parker writes soon after his settlement: —

"Well, cleverly am I settled. Our neighbors are pleasant. About fifty or sixty families in the parish; one hundred to one hundred and fifty worshippers. Sunday-school teachers' meeting at the house of the pastor once a fortnight, pastoral visits made, schools attended,

calls received, baptisms, funerals, — such are my out-of-door matters. . . . We have a very pleasant house and garden, 'men servants and maidens,' a cow, horse, and *pig*. I'm as practical as Stebbins; buy and sell, dig, lend, and borrow. 'To this complexion must we come at last.' . . . I am very pleasantly situated. The people good, quiet, sober, church-going, capital listeners. I preach abundant heresies, and they all go down, for the listeners don't know how heretical they are. I preach the worst of all things, transcendentalism, none calling me to account therefor, but men's faces looking like fires new stirred thereat."

In his volume of "Experiences" Mr. Parker thus refers to this period of his life: —

"On the longest day of 1837 I was ordained minister of the Unitarian Church and congregation at West Roxbury, one of the smallest societies in New England, where I found men and women whose friendship is still dear and instructive. For the first year or two the congregation did not exceed seventy persons, including the children. I soon became well acquainted with all in the little parish, where I found some men of rare enlightenment, some truly generous and noble souls. I knew the characters of all, and the thoughts of such as had them. I took great pains with the composition of my sermons; they were never out of my mind, but I was a learner quite as much as a teacher, and was feeling my way forward and upward with one hand, while I tried to lead men with the other. . . . Attempts were secretly made to alienate my little congregation and expel me from my obscure station at West Roxbury; but the little society came generously to my support and defence, giving me the heartiest sympathy, and offered me all the indulgence in their power."

Allusion is here made to the ill-judged efforts of the Unitarian body to ostracize Mr. Parker, whose theological views had gradually but widely diverged from their own,— an attempt which, as is well known, resulted in transferring him from an obscure field of action to one that placed him prominently before the world and largely increased his opportunities of usefulness. While the principle of association was on trial at Brook Farm, Mr. Parker would sometimes walk over there

to visit his friends Ripley, Channing, and others, and as Mr. Weiss tells us, "was occasionally rather sly over some of the details, and had a humorous eye for the little weaknesses of the recruits." The motive called forth his unbounded respect, but he never could be made to see the availability of any of the plans.

For several years after his removal to Boston in May, 1846, he spent his summer vacations in the house at West Roxbury, to which he returned every spring with childlike delight. He was fond of flowers, and knew the names of most of those found in New England, and took frequent rambles through the woods. One of his favorite walks took him through the Whiting farm to a grove now on the land of Mr. C. S. Perham, where his favorite tree, known far and wide as "Theodore Parker's Oak," still lives and flourishes, though venerable with age and showing symptoms of decay. In his journal he thus refers to it: —

THEODORE PARKER'S OAK.

"*May, 1851.* At West Roxbury in the afternoon. The *Polygala paucifiora* just opening; laid some at the foot of my favorite tree in memory of old times, — the great oak."

One of the finest farms in Roxbury is that of Mr. Aaron D. Weld, lying on both sides of Weld Street, a part of it in Brookline, and containing nearly three hundred acres. Some of this land belonged originally to the family, but a portion of it was bought by Deacon David, great-grandson of Lieut.

John Weld, of the heirs of Capt. John Baker, in 1786. Deacon David Weld's maternal grandfather was Col. Aaron Davis, whose name was borne by his son, and is continued by his son, the present owner of the estate. The old farm-house formerly stood on the west side of the street, near Church Street, half a mile from the new mansion house, and near where a large barn now stands.

Brook Farm, a tract of two hundred acres in the north-west corner of the town, between Baker Street and Charles River, formerly a part of Newton, was purchased in 1841 by George Ripley and others, who associated themselves together as "The Brook Farm Institute of Education and Agriculture," and who were afterwards incorporated under the name of "The Brook Farm Phalanx." After occupying it for five or six years they sold it to the city of Roxbury in 1849 for a Poor Farm. In 1861, while the property of Rev. James Freeman Clarke, who gave the use of it to the State, the Second Massachusetts Regiment was recruited here, — "the best crop," says Mr. Clarke, "that I ever raised." It is now the "Martin Luther Orphans' Home." In the original farm-house, afterwards called the Hive, most of the domestic occupations of the association were performed, and it was also the eating-house and cooking-establishment. It was nearest the entrance, and usually received the new-comers. This building afterwards received many additions to accommodate the increase of members. There was a small, terraced flower-garden near it, that led to the brook that gave the name to the place. A long ridge, crowned with a pleasant grove, looked down upon it, and a large elm shaded it agreeably. Eliot's Pulpit, one of the natural features of the farm, is so named from a tradition that the apostle had preached there to an Indian auditory. It rose some twenty or thirty feet, a shattered granite bowlder or heap of bowlders, with an irregular outline and many fissures, out of which sprang shrubs, bushes, and even trees. At its base the broken bowlders

inclined towards each other, so as to form a shallow cave. At the summit the rock was overhung by the canopy of a birch-tree, which served as a sounding-board to the pulpit.

Applicants for admission to the association were received on probation, after which, a two-thirds vote entitled them to membership. Its income was principally derived from the pupils sent them, most of whom had their rooms in the Aerie, the first house built on the place after it became the property of the association. Mr. and Mrs. Ripley also occupied it. Mr. Ripley was the founder of the association, and strained every nerve to promote its success, in which endeavor he was ably seconded by his wife. Miss Eliza Ostinelli, afterwards Madame Biscacianti, the famous vocalist, was for some months an inmate of Brook Farm. Thence she went with her father to Europe, to complete her musical education. When singing in the open air in the evening, her voice could be distinctly heard in Spring Street, three fourths of a mile distant.

The Brook Farm experiment, though a failure, must be regarded as a noble aspiration, a prophecy of the good time coming, when by just methods labor, skill, and capital are to meet in practical co-operation. Its history forms an interesting chapter in the annals of socialism. It numbered among its members and inmates many persons of culture, since celebrated in literature, among them Ripley, Thoreau, Curtis, Dana, Mrs. Diaz, W. H. Channing, W. F. Dwight, and Hawthorne, who has written entertainingly of it in his "Blithedale Romance," the heroine of which has been erroneously supposed to be Margaret Fuller.

This remarkable woman resided near Forest Hills station from 1839 until her removal to New York in 1844. Bussey's Woods was her favorite retreat, where she thought and read or talked with intimate friends, chief among whom was Rev. George Ripley, who, with Rev. Theodore Parker and Cranch, the artist and poet, were frequent visitors at her

house. While at heart in sympathy with the Brook Farm movement, she judged it premature. She, however, visited her friends there often, aiding them with encouragement and counsel. An extract or two from her journal gives her impressions of Brook Farm: —

"The first day or two here is desolate. You seem to belong to nobody, to have a right to speak to nobody; but very soon you learn to take care of yourself, and then the freedom of the place is delightful. . . . Mrs. Ripley and I had a talk. I said, 'My position would be uncertain here; I could not work.' We talked of the principles of the community. I said, 'I had not a right to come, because all the confidence I had in it was as an experiment worth trying, and that it was a part of the great wave of inspired thought.' . . . In the evening a husking in the barn, men, women, and children all engaged. It was a most picturesque scene, only not quite light enough to bring it out fully. I stayed and helped about half an hour, then took a long walk beneath the stars. There are too many young people in proportion to the others. . . . Here I have passed a very pleasant week. The tone of the society is much sweeter than when I was here a year ago. There is a pervading spirit of mutual tolerance and gentleness with great sincerity. There is no longer a passion for grotesque freaks of liberty, but a disposition rather to study and enjoy the liberty of law. The great development of mind and character, observable in several instances, persuades me that the state of things affords a fine studio for the soul sculptor . . . and one might have for a few months' residence here enough of the human drama to feed thought for a long time."

In the "Blithedale Romance," Hawthorne speaks of Brook Farm, his old and affectionately remembered home, as being certainly the most romantic episode of his own life, — essentially a day-dream and yet a fact. He expresses a most earnest wish that some one of the many cultivated minds which took an interest in that enterprise might now give the world its history: "Ripley, Curtis, Dana, Dwight, Channing, Burton, Parker, among these is the ability." Some amusing passages, describing the fraternity and how it was regarded by its neighbors, are here given: —

"They were mostly individuals who had gone through such an experience as to disgust them with ordinary pursuits. Thoughtful, strongly lined faces were among them. We had very young people with us, but these had chiefly been sent hither for education, which it was one of the objects and methods of our institution to supply. Then we had boarders from town and elsewhere, who lived with us in a familiar way, sympathized more or less in our theories, and sometimes shared in our labors. On the whole, it was a society such as has seldom met together, nor perhaps could it reasonably be expected to hold together long. Persons of marked individuality — crooked sticks, as some of us might be called — are not exactly the easiest to bind up into a fagot. We were of all creeds and opinions, generally tolerant of all, on every imaginable subject.

"Arcadians though we were, our costume bore no resemblance to that of the pastoral people of poetry and the stage. In actual show I humbly conceive we looked rather like a gang of beggars or banditti, than either a company of honest laboring men or a conclave of philosophers. Whatever might be our points of difference, we all of us seemed to have come to Blithedale with the one thrifty and laudable idea of wearing out our old clothes. Such garments as had an airing whenever we strode afield! Coats with high collars and with no collars, broad-skirted or swallow-tailed, and with the waist at every point between the hip and armpit, pantaloons of a dozen successive epochs, and greatly defaced at the knees by the humiliations of the wearer before his lady love, — in short we were a living epitome of defunct fashions. We might have been sworn comrades in Falstaff's ragged regiment. Little skill as we boasted in other points of husbandry, every mother's son of us would have served admirably to stick up for a scarecrow. So we gradually flung them all aside and took to honest homespun and linsey-woolsey.

"After a reasonable training the yeoman life throve reasonably well with us. Our faces took the sunburn kindly, our chests gained compass, and our shoulders in breadth and squareness. The plough, the hoe, the scythe, and the hayfork grew familiar to our grasp. The oxen responded to our voices. We could do a fair day's work, sleep dreamlessly after it, and awake at daybreak with only a little stiffness in the joints, which was usually quite gone by breakfast-time. To be sure, our next neighbors pretended to be incredulous as to our real proficiency in the business which we had taken in hand. They told slanderous fables about our inability to yoke our own oxen, or to drive them afield when yoked, or to release the poor

brutes from their conjugal bond at nightfall. They had the face to say, too, that the cows laughed at our awkwardness at milking time, and invariably kicked over the pails, partly in consequence of our putting the stool on the wrong side, and partly because, taking offence at the whisking of their tails, we were in the habit of holding these natural fly-flappers with one hand and milking with the other. They further averred that we hoed up whole acres of Indian corn and other crops, and drew the earth carefully about the weeds; and that we raised five hundred tufts of burdock, mistaking them for cabbages; and that by dint of unskilful planting few of our seeds ever came up at all, or if they did come up it was stern foremost; and that we spent the better part of the month of June in reversing a field of beans which had thrust themselves out of the ground in this unseemly way. They quoted it as nothing more than an ordinary occurrence for one or other of us to crop off two or three fingers of a morning, by our clumsy use of the hay-cutter. Finally, and as an ultimate catastrophe, these mendacious rogues circulated a report that we communitarians were exterminated to the last man by severing ourselves asunder with the sweep of our own scythes! and that the world had lost nothing by this little accident."

His personal experiences are thus referred to in his note-book: —

"I have not yet been two hundred yards from our house and barn, but I begin to perceive that this is a beautiful place. The scenery is of a mild and placid character, with nothing bold in its aspect; but I think its beauties will grow upon us and make us love it the more the longer we live here. There is a brook so near the house that we shall be able to hear its ripple summer evenings. . . . I could not have believed that there was such seclusion at so short a distance from a great city. Many spots seem hardly to have been visited for ages, — not since John Eliot preached to the Indians here. If we were to travel one thousand miles we could not escape the world more completely than we can here.

"*Sept.* 27. A ride to Brighton yesterday morning, it being the day of the weekly cattle fair. William Allen and myself went in a wagon, carrying a calf to be sold at the fair. The calf had not had his breakfast, as his mother had preceded him to Brighton, and he kept expressing his hunger and discomfort by loud, sonorous bass, especially when we passed any cattle in the fields or in the road.

. . . At a picnic party in the woods, Mr. Emerson and Miss Fuller, who had just arrived, came into the little glade where we were assembled. Here followed much talk."

Hawthorne goes on to say that they had pleased themselves with delectable visions of the spiritualization of labor, "but the clods of the earth, which we so constantly belabored and turned over and over, were never etherealized into thought. Our thoughts, on the contrary, were fast becoming cloddish. Our labor symbolized nothing, and left us mentally sluggish in the dusk of the evening. Is it a praiseworthy matter," so he writes in his diary, "that I have spent five golden months in providing food for cows and horses? It is not so." He left the association in November, 1841, and did not return.

"Often, however, in these years that are darkening around me, I remember our beautiful scheme of a noble and unselfish life, and how fair in that first summer appeared the prospect that it might endure for generations, and be perfected, as the ages rolled away, into the system of a people and a world! Were my former associates now there, were there only three or four of those true-hearted men still laboring in the sun, I sometimes fancy that I should direct my world-weary footsteps thitherward, and entreat them to receive me for old friendship's sake. More and more I feel that we had struck upon what ought to be a truth. Posterity may dig it up and profit by it. The experiment, so far as its original projectors were concerned, proved long ago a failure, first lapsing into Fourierism, and dying as it well deserved for this infidelity to its own higher spirit. Where once we toiled with our whole hopeful hearts, the town paupers, aged, nerveless, and disconsolate, creep sluggishly afield. Alas, what faith is requisite to bear up against such results of generous effort!"

The names and locations of the principal residents of West Roxbury from 1820 to 1825 have been kindly furnished by Mr. John D. Colburn, whose recollection of the people and places with which he was familiar in his boyhood seems very distinct. The residences starred are no longer standing.

The right-hand names are those of the present owners or occupants of the estates. The initial letter on the right indicates the side of the street: —

WASHINGTON STREET, *beginning at the Dedham line.*

Mott Johnson, now occupied by his daughter, W.
*William Bullard, toll-gate house, Muddy Pond Hill.
Read Taft's Tavern, now Union Hotel, W.
Lemuel Richards, now Lindall, nearly opposite Tafts, E.
Capt. Dunster, now John Smith, W.
Michael Whittemore, now John Smith, W.
Eben Dudley, wheelwright, near Taft's, W.

CENTRE STREET, *beginning at the Dedham line.*

*David and Moses Draper, E.
Benjamin Draper, son of Moses, now Benj. J. G. Draper's heirs, W.
John Mayo's old tavern, now E. Stone and W. Colburn, W.
Mrs. Jones or Herring, now G. B. Mason, near Summer Street, E.
—— Henshaw, now I. Joyce, E.
Benjamin Davis, shoemaker, now John D. Colburn, — very old house, E.
Henry Smith, corner Spring Street, E.
*James Griggs, corner of Cottage Street, E.
Rain Water Doctor, now Tilden, E.
James Reed, now I. G. Whitney, E.
*Seth Whiting, W.
Whiting Tavern, now Dr. G. Hay, W.
Luke Baker, now Mrs. Abner Guild, E.
Lemuel Billings, hatter, now R. Hewins, W.
Benjamin Billings, "leather dresser and breeches maker," E.
S. Peck, formerly "Merchant" Davis, now Benjamin Guild, W.
Aaron ("Merchant") Davis's store, W.
Henry Smith, house and store, now Newhall, corner La Grange, W.
J. Dugan, now Chapin, next the burying-ground, W.
Amasa Davis, now Gowing, very old house, W.
Nathaniel Richards's tavern, very old, opposite the church, E.
Old schoolhouse, next the church, W.
William Draper — Sol. Richards, now C. Bird, W.
Capt. Richards, now Edward Richards, N.
—— Talbot, blacksmith, now Hartshorn, N.

*Benjamin Corey, westerly corner Corey Street, N.
*Moses Griggs, later, Keith estate, easterly corner Corey Street, N.
Col. Mann, now G. W. Mann, near Highland station, S.
*Capt. Palmer, now Albert Whittemore, near Beech Street, S.
Betty Richards, now Woodward heirs, corner Beech Street, S.
Broad's tannery, now " " S.
William Draper, now Betsey Draper, near Willow Street, N.
Egbert Draper, now Mrs. Benjamin Brown, next the church, N.
Rev. Mr. Bradford's church, N.
—— Tileston, now Davidson, corner South Street, S.

SOUTH STREET.

—— Hatch, now owned by Mrs. S. D. Bradford, N.
Rev. John Bradford, " " " " N.
*Wheeler — Hazelwood (burnt), N.
Dea. Murdock, now owned by Henry Dudley, N.
*Rev. N. Walter — Allen, now E. Skinner, N.
Scott — Alden, now Mrs. Baste, N.
David Corey, now Joseph Williams, near Roslindale station, S.
Dandridge Taft, later, Davis Lyon, N.
Capt. Joseph Mayo, N.
*Elisha Whitney, now part of Bussey Farm, opp. stone house, N.

POPLAR STREET.

*Schoolhouse, corner Florence Street, E.
Dea. Joseph Arnold, now T. Orrall, E.
R. McDaniels, now Goldsmith, opposite Clarendon Park, E.
*Chamberlain homestead, built by Payson Chamberlain, great-grandfather of Daniel Chamberlain, nearly opposite Dea. Noah Davis's, W.
*Sylvanus Lindall, corner Hilburn Street, W.
*Dea. Noah Davis (son of Col. Aaron), corner Metropolitan Street. From this elevated site, formerly known as Clapboard, or Flax Hill, there is a magnificent view of Hyde Park and the Blue Hills, E.
Stephen Chamberlain, now Daniel Chamberlain, W.
Michael Whittemore, Sen., now Wedger, Hyde Park Avenue, W.

BEECH STREET.

—— Daniels, now Mrs. Wiggin, W.
Dea. Benjamin Farrington, now Dyer, corner Annawan, W.

WELD STREET.

Bart. White, now Dwinell, E.
Deacon Weld house, occupied by Caleb Parker, removed, W.
Davis Weld, now Aaron D. Weld, W.

BELLEVUE, *formerly Lyon Street.*

Col. Jeremiah Richards, now Willcutt, between Bellevue and Park Streets, E.
Isaiah Richards — William Whittemore, now Attwood, E.
Lyon homestead, southwest of Attwood, E.
Benjamin Lyon, now George Richards, W.

SPRING STREET.

Henry Smith — Tidd, now George Morse, N.
Capt. Amasa Gay, now Otis Gay, next house, N.
—— ——, now Cain, beyond railroad crossing, N.
Benjamin Billings, now ——, near railroad crossing, N.
Capt. Leonard Whiting, now Cotter, N.
Henry Whiting, now owned by Gardner, corner Gardner Street, N.

BAKER STREET.

John Baker — Dervin, next railroad crossing, E.

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